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WESTERN AMERICANA

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A NARRATIVE OF VOYAGES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES,

BY

RICHARD J. CLEVELAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE character of the citizens of New England for enterprise and industry is very generally acknowledged. Being, for the most part, obliged to seek their own fortunes, they are early accustomed to the endurance of privations, and to those industrious and frugal habits, which lead to competence and wealth. In the pursuit of that independence of which all are more or less desirous, there have been instances of daring enterprise, of persevering determination, of disregard of fatigue and suffering, which are very remarkable; but which pass unobserved from their frequency, no less than from the unobtrusive habits of the actor.

A simple account of such enterprises, drawn from journals and letters written at the time the events therein related occurred, is here given to the public.

More than forty-five years have elapsed since the first of the voyages here narrated was undertaken; and more than twenty since the completion of the last. It is apparent that they possess but in a small degree, the power to interest, that would have been excited, had they been published at the period of their performance; yet this delay in their publication may, on some considerations, enhance their value. It may be interesting to the young merchant to trace some of the great revolutions in the commerce of the world, which have occurred within the above-named periods; and those of advanced age may be induced to recur to by-gone days, with pleasing, even if accompanied with melancholy associations.

For several years preceding the date of the first of my voyages, the merchants of the United States, and particularly those of Salem, carried on an active and lucrative commerce with the Isles of France and Bourbon, which was continued up to the period of the conquest of those islands by the British, since which it has nearly ceased. That important product of our country, cotton, which is now its greatest and most valuable article of export, employing a greater amount of tonnage than any other, was then unknown as an article of export from the United States; and the little required for the consumption of our domestic fabrics, was imported from Demerara, Surinam, and the West India Islands. The trade to the Northwest Coast of America, which for about twenty-five years was actively and almost exclusively pursued from Boston, on an extensive scale, and to great advantage, has for some years been abandoned, from the scarcity and high price of furs, caused by the competition of the Russians, who have gradually advanced their posts far to the south of those places where my cargo was collected; and where they were not then seen. The sealing voyages, which were prosecuted most actively from New Haven, Norwich, and Stonington, principally to the Island of Masafuera, and by which sudden and large fortunes were made, have, for many years past, been productive of little comparative advantage to the few yet engaged in them; and this in consequence of the animal's being almost annihilated.

Our cargoes from China, which were formerly paid for in these furs, and in Spanish dollars, are now procured for bills on England, for opium, and for European and American fabrics. The cotton and silk manufactures of Indostan, constituted formerly, almost exclusively, the cargoes of our ships from Calcutta, which were paid for in Spanish dollars, and which generally yielded large profits. At this time our cotton fabrics are so much better and cheaper, as entirely to have superseded the importation of those; and most of the articles which now compose a cargo from Calcutta, excepting saltpetre and bandanas, were then scarcely known there, as articles of export to this country. Bills on England in payment for these cargoes, as well as for those laden at other ports of India, have been substituted for Spanish dollars, which formerly were indispensable to the prosecution of this trade.

When I first visited the ports of Brazil, of Chili, of Peru, of Mexico, and of California, they had been for ages, and were then, so exclusively used for their own respective flags, that the admittance of one of a foreign nation, was granted only on the most palpable evidence of a necessity, which it would be inhuman not to relieve. When admitted, no individual belonging to the vessel was permitted to land, or to walk the streets of the city, without the disagreeable incumbrance of a soldier following him; hence the difficulty of obtaining information, and consequently the meagre accounts given of the manners and customs of those nations.

The revolutions in those countries which have been effected with so much individual distress, and so great loss of life, though far from having produced the prosperity and happiness anticipated by their most enlightened patriots, have nevertheless caused their ports to be thrown open for the admission of the flags of all nations. This has afforded opportunities to strangers for visiting them, which have been abundantly improved; and the numerous and elaborate accounts of them which have been given to the world, within a few years, by literary men, who possessed the requisite leisure and opportunity for the purpose, seemed to obviate the necessity of my attempting to enlarge on those subjects. The same reason forbade the attempt at more than cursory and passing descriptions of countries, cities, customs, and manners in other parts of the globe, visited by me for objects exclusively of a commercial character.

Equally, if not even more remarkable than the changes above mentioned, are those observable at the Sandwich Islands, since my first visit there in the year 1799. Then the inhabitants were but little elevated from the barbarous state in which they were found by Captain Cook; — now they are comparatively a civilized people, sensible of the value of instruction, and eager to obtain it; cultivating their fields, and, by an extended and increasing foreign trade, affording a most remarkable instance of the ameliorating and humanizing effects of commerce.

In these days of philanthropy, when there are so many zealous advocates and active promoters of the great and truly benevolent cause of temperance, it is proper and becoming in every wellwisher to the advancement of this cause, to aid it in every way in his power. With such impressions, and with the favorable opportunity now presented, I should consider it reprehensible to withhold from the public, a statement of facts relating to myself personally, and which no other consideration than the hope of doing good, would induce me to make, although they may be viewed by many as not the least extraordinary of the facts which have been narrated.

I am not, nor have I ever been a member of a temperance society; but I was a practical temperance man long before such societies were dreamed of. At the period when I began my nautical career, it was a universally received maxim, that drinking grog and chewing tobacco were two essential and indispensable requisites for making a good seaman. So omnipotent is custom, and so powerful is satire, that although the absurdity of such a maxim must be apparent to every one, I have, nevertheless, seen many young men repeatedly made sick before overcoming the disgust, and some of them afterwards became miserable drunkards. As alcohol and tobacco were in no degree less offensive to me than I had evidence of their being to my associates, it appeared to me that to submit to the ridicule rather than to the sickness, was selecting the least of the evils, and I acted accordingly.

Those who may honor me with a perusal of my narrative will perceive, that I have navigated to all parts of the world, from the sixtieth degree of south latitude, to the sixtieth degree north; and sometimes in vessels whose diminutive size and small number of men caused exposure to wet and cold, greatly surpassing what is usually experienced in ships of ordinary capacity; that I have been exposed to the influence of the most unhealthy places; at Batavia, where I have seen whole crews prostrate with the fever, and death making havoc among them; at San Blas, where the natives can stay only a portion of the year; at the Havana, within whose walls I have resided five years consecutively; that I have suffered captivity, robbery, imprisonment, ruin, and the racking anxiety consequent thereon. And yet, through the whole, and to the present sixty-eighth year of my age, I have never taken a drop of spirituous liquor of any kind; never a glass of wine, of porter, ale, or beer, or any beverage stronger than tea and coffee; and, moreover, I have never used tobacco in any way whatever; and this, not only without injury, but, on the contrary, to the preservation of my health. Headache is known to me by name only; and excepting those fevers, which were produced by great anxiety and excitement, my life has been free from sickness.

The following narrative will enable the reader to form a comparison between a seaman's profession and his own; and, possibly, after perusing it, he will be less disturbed by the annoyances which peculiarly beset him. He will perceive, that the master of a merchant ship, in whom are united the duties of navigator and factor, is subjected to great care and responsibility, even on ordinary and well defined voyages. These are greatly augmented when the enterprise is enveloped in darkness from the unknown political state of the countries whither he is destined; from the contingencies which may be presented to him; and from the necessity of great circumspection, decision, and promptitude, in the choice of them. If he is timid and afraid to enter a port where there is uncertainty of a friendly reception, it may cause the ruin of his voyage. If, on the contrary, he is bold, and enters such port, confiding in the protection of existing treaties, and the laws of nations, he may also become the victim of arbitrary power, confided to unworthy and ignorant individuals. If success attend his enterprise, when returning home with ample compensation for his labor, he runs the risk of having it all snatched from him by some hungry satellite of that great high-sea robber, termed "His," or "Her Majesty." Thus, in addition to the ordinary perils of hurricanes and storms, of rocks and shoals, he has to incur the greater ones of the cupidity and villany of man.

Of the ordinary labor and fatigue attendant on the profession, the same individual would form opposite conclusions in different circumstances. The man who makes a winter's passage from Europe to America, and encounters the usual storms and severity of weather peculiar to that passage, will probably pronounce the seaman's life to be the hardest, the most dangerous, the most irksome, the most wearing to body and mind, of any one of the pursuits of man. On the contrary, he who sails from the United States to Calcutta, to China, or to South America, avoiding our winter's coast, may perform the voyage without experiencing a gale of greater severity, than would require the sails to be reefed, a pleasing excitement when the necessity is of rare occurrence; and he would probably decide that no profession is so easy, so pleasant, and so free from care, as the seaman's. These are the two extremes, between which, as may be supposed, there are gradations, which will tend to incline the scale one way or the other, according to circumstances.

The experience of more than twenty years passed in navigating to all parts of the world, has led me to the conclusion, that though the hardships and privations of a seaman's life be greater than those of any other, there is a compensation in the very excitement of its dangers, in the opportunity it affords of visiting different countries, and viewing mankind in the various gradations between the most barbarous, and the most refined; and in the ever-changing scenes which this occupation presents. And I can say, with truth, that I not only feel no regret for having chosen this profession rather than any other, but that if my life were to be passed over again, I should pursue the same course.

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In the ordinary course of a commercial education, in New England, boys are transferred from school to the merchant's desk at the age of fourteen or fifteen. When I had reached my fourteenth year, it was my good fortune to be received into the counting-house of Elias Hasket Derby, Esq. of Salem; a merchant, who may justly be termed the father of the American commerce to India; one, whose enterprise and commercial sagacity were unequalled in his day, and, perhaps, have not been surpassed by any of his successors. To him our country is indebted for opening the valuable trade to Calcutta; before whose fortress his was the first vessel to display the American flag; and, following up the business, he had reaped golden harvests before other merchants came in for a share of them. The first American ships, seen at the Cape of Good Hope and at the Isle of France, belonged to him. His were the first American ships which carried cargoes of cotton from Bombay to China; and among the first ships which made a direct voyage to China and back, was one owned by him. He continued to prosecute a successful business, on an extensive scale, in those countries, until the day of his death. In the transaction of his affairs abroad, he was liberal, greatly beyond the practice in modern times, always desirous that every one, even the foremast hand, should share the good fortune to which he pointed the way; and the long list of masters of ships, who have acquired ample fortunes in his employment, is a proof, both of his discernment in selecting and of his generosity in paying them.

Without possessing a scientific knowledge of the construction and the sparring of ships, Mr. Derby seemed to have an intuitive faculty in judging of models and proportions; and his experiments, in several instances, for the attainment of swiftness of sailing, were crowned with a success unsurpassed in our own or any other country. He built several ships for the India trade, immediately in the vicinity of the counting-house; which afforded me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the building, sparring, and rigging of ships. The conversations, to which I listened, relating to the countries then newly visited by Americans, the excitement on the return of an adventure from them, and the great profits which were made, always manifest from the result of my own little adventures, tended to stimulate the desire in me of visiting those countries, and of sharing more largely in the advantages they presented. Consequently, after having passed four years in this course of instruction, I became impatient to begin that nautical career on which I had determined, as presenting the most sure and direct means of arriving at independence; and in the summer of 1792 I embarked on my first voyage. It was one of only three months' duration; but it was sufficient to produce a most thorough disgust of the pursuit, from the severe suffering of sea-sickness; so that, if I had perceived, on my return, any prospect on shore equally promising, I should have abandoned the sea. None, however, presenting itself, I persevered, and finally overcame the difficulty.

Having in this, and other voyages to the East and West Indies and to Europe, acquired the experience and nautical skill deemed sufficient to qualify me for taking the command of a ship, I was invited, in the autumn of 1795, by the eldest son of Mr. Derby, to take charge of his barque Enterprise, and proceed on a voyage to the Isle of Bourbon. The confidence, thus evinced, in intrusting the management of a valuable vessel and cargo to so young and inexperienced a man, for I had then only attained my majority, was very gratifying to my ambition, and was duly appreciated.

In those almost primitive days of our commerce, a coppered vessel was scarcely known in the United States; and on the long East India voyages, the barnacles and grass, which accumulated on the wooden sheathing, retarded the ship's sailing so much, that a third more time, at least, was required for the passages, than is needed since the practice of sheathing with copper has been adopted. A year, therefore, was generally consumed in a voyage to the Isle of France or Bourbon; and mine was accomplished within that term. The success attending it was very satisfactory to my employer, of which he gave evidence in despatching me again, in the same vessel, on a voyage to Europe, and thence to Mocha, for a cargo of coffee.

While at Havre de Grace, in the summer of 1797, engaged in making preparations for pursuing the voyage, I had the mortification to learn, by letters from my employer, that some derangement had occurred in his affairs, which made it necessary to abandon the Mocha enterprise, and to place in his hands, with the least possible delay, the funds destined for that object. Among the numerous commercial adventures, in which our merchants, at that time, had been engaged to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, no voyage had been undertaken to Mocha. To be the first, therefore, in an untried adventure was highly gratifying to my ambition; and my disappointment was proportionally great when compelled to relinquish it. To have detained the vessel in France, while waiting the slow progress of the sale of the cargo, would have been injudicious; and she was therefore despatched for home, under charge of the mate, William Webb, of Salem.

Being thus relieved from the necessity of an immediate return to the United States, I flattered myself, that, even with the very contracted means which I possessed, I might still engage, with a little assistance, and on a very humble scale, in some enterprise to the Isle of France and India. When, therefore, I had accomplished the business with which I had been charged, by remitting to the owner in Salem his property with me, I began earnestly to put to the test the practicability of the object of which I was so desirous. A coincidence of favorable and very encouraging circumstances aided my views. A friend of mine had become proprietor of a little cutter of thirty-eight tons burden, which had been a packet between Dover and Calais. This vessel had been taken for a debt ; and the owner, not knowing what to do with her, offered her to me for a reasonable price, and to pay when I had the ability. This credit would enable me to put all my capital in the cargo, excepting what was required for coppering and fitting the cutter for the contemplated voyage, about five hundred dollars ; leaving me fifteen hundred to be invested in the cargo. On making known to others of my friends the plan of my voyage, two of them engaged to embark to the amount of a thousand dollars each, on condition of sharing equally the profits at the end of the voyage. Having become proprietor of the cutter, which, with all additional expenses, cost, ready for sea, about one thousand dollars, an investment of articles best suited to the market of the Isle of France, was purchased to the amount of three thousand five hundred dollars ; making vessel and cargo amount to four thousand five hundred. It is not probable, that the annals of commerce can furnish another example of an Indiaman and cargo being fitted and expedited on so humble a scale.

I had now the high gratification of uncontrolled action. An innate love of independence, an impatience of restraint, an aversion to responsibility, and a desire to have no other limits to my wanderings than the globe itself, reconciled me to the endurance of fatigues and privations, which I knew to be the unavoidable consequence of navigating in so frail a bark, rather than to possess the comparative ease and comfort, coupled with the restraint and responsibility, which the command of a fine ship belonging to another would present.

As there are, doubtless, many persons, not excepting those, even, who are familiar with commercial and maritime affairs, who will view this enterprise as very hazardous from sea risk, and as offering but a very small prospect of emolument, it is proper, so far as I am able, to do away such impressions by briefly stating the object I had in view. On my late voyage to the Isle of Bourbon, I had perceived a great deficiency in the number of vessels, requisite for the advantageous conveyance of passengers and freight to and from the Isles of France and Bourbon. If my cutter had been built expressly for the purpose, she could not have been more suitable. With a large and beautifully finished cabin, where passengers would be more comfortably accommodated than in many vessels of greater dimensions; with but small freighting room, and requiring, therefore, but little time to load, and of greater speed in sailing than the generality of merchant vessels, I had no doubt of being able to sell her there for more than double the cost; or I might find it to be more advantageous to employ her in freighting between the islands. In either event, I felt entire confidence in being amply remunerated for the time and risk. On the cargo, composed of such articles as my late experience had proved to be most in demand, I had no doubt of making a profit of from fifty to one hundred per cent on its cost. The proceeds of vessel and cargo, invested in the produce of the island, and shipped to Europe or the United States, would, at that time, have yielded a clear gain of thirty-three and one third per cent. Thus, in the course of one year, I should make two hundred per cent on the original capital; a result, which might be considered abundant compensation for the time it would consume, and should take from the enterprise the character of quixotism, with which it had been stigmatized.

As soon as it became known at Havre, that my destination was the Isle of France, some of my friends, anxious for my safety, and perceiving in the enterprise only the ardor and temerity of inexperienced youth, endeavoured to dissuade me from it, by painting to me, in glowing colors, the distress and probable destruction I was preparing for myself and men. But, however friendly and considerate the advice, I felt myself more competent to judge of the risk than they were, and, consequently, disregarded them.*

The vessel, being all ready for sea on the 20th of September, 1797, was detained several days by the difficulty of procuring men. Those who were engaged one day would desert the next; and the dangerous character of the enterprise having been discussed and admitted among the seamen in port, I began to be seriously apprehensive, that I might not succeed in procuring a crew. At length, however, with much difficulty, and some additional pay, I succeeded in procuring four men; and, having previously engaged a mate, our number was complete.

To delay proceeding to sea a moment longer than was necessary, would have been incurring a risk of the loss of my men, and the pay I had advanced them. Hence, I was induced to sail when appearances were very inauspicious. A strong north wind was blowing into the bay with such violence as already to have raised a considerable sea ; but I flattered myself, that, as the sun declined, it would abate ; that, if we could weather Cape Barfleur, we should make a free wind down channel ; and that, if this should be found impracticable, we could, at all events, return to Havre Roads, and wait there a more favorable opportunity.

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* In conformity with a condition in the contract for the vessel, she was called the Caroline. We navigated with such papers only, as our foreign consuls were, at that period, in the habit of giving on similar emergencies; the bill of sale and consular certificate attached, which were respected by the belligerents.

With such impressions, we sailed from Havre on the 25th of September. A great crowd had assembled on the pier head to witness our departure, and cheered us as we passed. It was about noon, and we were under full sail ; but we had scarcely been out two hours, when we were obliged to reduce it to a double-reefed mainsail, foresail, and second-sized jib. With the sail even thus diminished, the vessel, at times, almost buried herself ; still, as every part of the equipment was new and strong, I flattered myself with being able to weather the Cape, and pressed forward through a sea in which we were continually enveloped, cheered with the hope that we had nothing worse to experience, and that we should soon be relieved by the ability to bear away and make a free wind. I was destined, however, to a sad disappointment ; for the wind and sea having increased towards midnight, an extraordinary plunge into a very short and sharp sea completely buried the vessel, and, with a heavy crash, snapped off the bowsprit by the board. The vessel then luffed into the wind, in defiance of the helm, and the first shake of the foresail stripped it from the bolt rope.

No other alternative now presented, than to endeavour to regain the port of Havre; a task, under existing circumstances, of very difficult and doubtful accomplishment. The sea had increased in so great a degree, and ran so sharp, that we were in continual apprehension of having our decks swept. This circumstance, combined with the sea sickness, which none escaped, retarded and embarrassed the operation of wearing round on the other tack. The violent motion of the vessel had also prevented the possibility of obtaining sleep; indeed, no person had been permitted to go below before the disaster; and none had the disposition to do so afterwards; but all were alert in the performance of their duty, which had for its immediate object the getting of the vessel's head pointed towards Havre.

This was at length effected; but, as we had no spar suitable for a jury bowsprit, we could carry only such part of our mainsail as was balanced by a jib, set in the place of a foresail. With this sail we made so much lee way, that it was evident, as soon as daylight enabled me to form a judgment, that we could not reach Havre; nor was it less evident, that nothing but an abatement of the gale could save us from being stranded before night. With the hope of this abatement, the heavens were watched with an intensity of interest more easily imagined than described; but no favorable sign appeared; and before noon we had evidence of being to leeward of the port of Havre. We now cleared away the cables and anchors, and secured with battens the communications with the cabin and forecastle. While thus engaged, the man at the mast head announced the appalling, but expected intelligence, of "breakers under the lee."

This information had the effect of an electric shock to rouse the crew from that apathy, which was a natural consequence of twenty-four hours' exposure to great fatigue, incessant wet and cold, and want of sleep and food; for we had not been able to cook any thing. The rapidity with which we were driven to leeward, soon made the breakers discernible from deck; and they were of such extent, as to leave us no choice, whether we headed east or west; for the forlorn hope of being held by our anchors was all that remained to us. No one on board possessed any knowledge of the shore we were approaching; but our chart denoted it as rocky. It was easy to perceive, that to be thrown among rocks, by such a sea, must be the destruction of us all. Hence it was of the utmost importance to discover, and to anchor off, the part of the shore which appeared to be most free from rocks; and with this view the mate was looking out from the mast head. As he perceived an apparently clear beach east of us, and within our ability of reaching, we steered for it; and when the water was only six fathoms deep, we lowered our sails and came to anchor. But as our anchor dragged, a second was let go, which, for a moment only, brought the vessel head to the sea, when one cable parted; and as we were drifting rapidly with the other, we cut it, then hoisted the jib, and steered directly for the clear space in the beach. Going in with great velocity, on the top of a high breaker, we were soon enveloped in its foam, and in that of several others which succeeded. The vessel, however, notwithstanding she struck the ground with a violence which appeared sufficient to dash her in pieces, still held together, in defiance of this and several minor shocks;

and, as the tide was falling, she soon became so still, and the water so shoal, as to enable us to go on shore.

As the alarm gun had been fired, the peasantry had come down in great numbers; and when they perceived us leaving the vessel, they ran into the surf, and, with such demonstrations of humanity and kindness as our forlorn situation was calculated to excite, supported us to the shore, which we had no sooner reached, than they complimented us on the judicious selection we had made of a place to come on shore. And it was now obvious to us, that if we had struck half a mile, either on one side or the other from this spot, there would have been scarce a possibility of saving our lives.

We were fortunate, not only in the selection of the spot, but also in the circumstance of its being nearly high water when the vessel struck. The concurrence of two such circumstances turned the scale in my favor; and immediately after landing I was convinced, that the vessel and cargo, though much damaged, would both be saved. When the tide had so fallen as to leave the vessel dry, the inhabitants showed no disposition to take advantage of our distress, by stipulating for a certain proportion of what they might save, before going to work; but, prompted by their humane feelings, set about discharging the vessel, in such numbers and with such earnestness, that before sunset she was completely unloaded, and the cargo carried above high water mark.

The gale, towards evening, had very much abated, and, before the next high water, was fortunately succeeded by a calm and a great decrease of sea. In the mean time, the leaks, made in the bottom, were stopped, as well as time and circumstances would permit; an anchor was carried as far as the retreat of the tide would admit, and the cable hove taut. Having made these dispositions, I engaged a pilot and a sufficient number of men, to attend, at full tide, to heave the vessel off, and to endeavour to remove her into the river Orme, which was near by. These arrangements being made, I went with my men to an inn, in the neighbouring town of Oistreham, to get some refreshment, and to pass the night; compelled by exhaustion to place entire dependence on those who were strangers to us, for getting the vessel afloat, as well as to secure the cargo from being plundered.

Though worn out by fatigue and anxiety, my distress of mind was so great, that I could not sleep. The thoughts, that I had contracted a debt which I might never be able to pay, that no insurance had been effected, that, without credit, I might be compelled to sacrifice what had been saved to defray the expenses incurred, and that my fortune and prospects were ruined, were so incessantly haunting my imagination, that the night rather added to, than diminished my feelings of exhaustion.

The following morning, I found the vessel lying safely in the river Orme; and men were also there, ready to make those temporary repairs which were indispensable to enable us to return to Havre. In the forenoon it was required of me to go to Caen (two or three miles distant) for the purpose of making the customary report to the municipal authorities, which was a business of very little intricacy, and of very speedy accomplishment. An examination of the vessel and cargo satisfied me, that the former could be repaired at very trifling expense, and that the latter was not damaged to much amount. The alacrity to render us assistance, in the people of this place, from the beginning of our disaster, was extended to the period, when, the cargo having been transported to the vessel and re-shipped, we were prepared to return to Havre.

As in cases of vessels stranding, it seems to be a practice, sanctioned by long established usage, (particularly on the other side of the channel,) to consider the unfortunate as those abandoned by Heaven, from whom may lawfully be taken all that the elements have spared, I was prepared for a demand of salvage to a considerable amount. But in this expectation I found I had done great injustice to these good people; for, on presenting their account, it appeared they had charged no more than for ordinary labor, and that at a very moderate rate. It is a circumstance, also, very creditable to them, that notwithstanding some packages of the cargo, of much value, and of such bulk as to be easily concealed, were in their possession, exclusively, for several days and nights, yet nothing was lost. Although these transactions are of a date so remote, that probably many of the actors therein have "ceased from their earthly labors," yet I never recall them to mind, without a feeling of compunction that I had not ascertained the names of the principals in the business, and made that public acknowledgment for the disinterested and important services rendered me, which gratitude, no less than justice, demanded. For this omission my perturbed state of mind is my only apology.

With a favorable wind for Havre, we proceeded for that port, where we arrived in about ten days after having sailed from there. The reception I met with at Havre, from my friend James Prince, Esq. of Boston, who was more largely interested in the adventure than any other individual excepting myself, was kind and friendly in the extreme, and tended to counteract the effects of my deep mortification, and to raise my spirits for the prosecution of the original plan. He relieved my anxiety relative to the means of defraying the expenses of repairs, by engaging to provide them. He gave me a room at his house; and while I was ill there, (for this I did not escape,) he facilitated my recovery by his care and kindness. With such attentions, my health was soon reëstablished, my spirits renewed, and I pursued the repairing and refitting the vessel with my accustomed ardor.

On examination of the cargo, it was found to be very little damaged. The vessel was considerably injured so near the keel, that it was necessary to lay her on blocks, where it was discovered that the lower plank was so much broken that several feet of it would require to be replaced with new. This being accomplished, the other repairs made, and the cargo again put on board, there was nothing to prevent proceeding immediately to sea, excepting a difficulty in procuring men, which seemed to be insurmountable. No one of my former crew, excepting a black man, (George,) would try it again. We had arrived at the close of the month of November; and each day's delay, by the advance of winter, increased the difficulty and danger of our enterprise. Indeed, the westerly gales were already of frequent occurrence; the nights had become long, and when I heard the howling winds and beating rain, and recollected in what a frail boat I had to contend with them, I wished that my destiny had marked out for me a task of less difficult accomplishment.

CHAPTER II.

Difficulty in procuring Men. — Partially accomplished. — Sail from Havre. — A British Frigate. — Ushant. — Sketch of the Crew. — Anecdotes of George. — His Bravery and Fidelity. — Swimming after the Pig. — British Frigate Stag. — Danger of Contact. — Chased off Cadiz. — Boarded from a French Privateer. — Released unharmed. — Cape de Verde Islands. — A Gale. — Lose a Cask of Water. — Causes a Necessity of Stopping at Cape of Good Hope. — Arrival. — Interview with the Admiral. — Many Visitors. — Suspicion of our Object. — Interview with Lord Macartney. — Searched for Papers. — Sell the Vessel. — Trouble with the Collector. — Appeal to Lord Macartney. — Adjusted. — The Vessel despatched. — Never heard of after.

THE difficulty of procuring men seemed to increase with each additional day's detention. Those, whom I engaged one day, would desert the next, alarmed by some exaggerated story of our first attempt. In the course of three weeks, I shipped no less than four different men as mates, and as many different crews, and each, in turn, abandoned me. At length I procured an active and capable young seaman from a Nantucket ship, one whom the captain recommended, as mate, and another man and a boy in addition to George, who had held true to his engagement. I was desirous of procuring one more, but my attempt to do so was unsuccessful; and fearing that, by any delay for this purpose, I might lose those already on board, I sailed immediately.

Our expedition had become a subject of general conversation in the town; and the difficulty of getting away the Indiaman (as she was called) was known to every one. The day, therefore, that we sailed, the pier-head was again thronged with people, who cheered us as we passed by, wishing us *un bon voyage*; but no small portion of them considered us as bound to certain destruction. It was now the twenty-first day of December; a season of the year, when the loss of a few hours only of the easterly wind, then blowing, might be attended with disagreeable, if not disastrous consequences. We therefore set all our sail to improve it, and, while making rapid progress towards the channel, were brought to by a British frigate, commanded by Sir R. Strachan. The boarding officer was very civil. He declared our enterprise to be a very daring one; caused us as little detention as possible, and, returning to his ship, immediately made the signal, that we might proceed.

It was soon very evident, that no person on board, excepting the mate and myself, was capable of performing the very common and indispensable business of steering; and though there was no doubt our men would soon learn, yet, in the mean time, we had the prospect before us of a tedious, though not very laborious course of duty. As the wind continued to be favorable, our passage down the channel was easy and expeditious; and the day after leaving Havre we passed by and in sight of the island of Ushant. We were now in a position to feel the full effect of the westerly gales, which are so prevalent at this season of the year; and, in order to have plenty of sea-room, in case of encountering one, I directed a course to be steered, which should carry us wide of Cape Ortegal.

A sufficient time had now elapsed, since leaving Havre, (it being the third day,) to give me a very tolerable knowledge of my crew; whose characters, peculiarities, and accomplishments were such, that a sketch of them may not be without interest to the reader. My mate, Reuben Barnes, was a young man of nineteen or twenty, a native of Nantucket, who, having been engaged in the whale fishery, had profited by that excellent school to acquire, not only the knowledge of the seaman's profession, but also enough of the mechanic arts to fish a spar with dexterity, to caulk a seam, or to make a bucket or a barrel. The intelligence, activity, watchfulness, and adroitness of this young man relieved me from much anxiety and care; and in his conduct while with me, he evinced all the steadiness and fidelity, which the recommendation he brought, as well as the place of his birth, had led me to expect.

Decidedly the most important personage of my foremast hands was the black man George, who had dared to embark on our second voyage, after having shared in the disasters of the first. In his appearance, capacity, and dialect, George was the veriest negro that can be imagined. For honesty, fidelity, and courage, he may have been equalled, but can never have been surpassed. He stood about six feet and three inches, was rather slender, very awkward, and of a much more sable hue than common, but with an expression of countenance mild and pleasing. With simplicity of character approximating to folly, he united a degree of self-conceit, which led him to believe, that he could do whatever could be done by another, and, in some cases, to suppose he could make great improvements; an instance of which occurred before we had been out a week. In his previous voyages George had been cook, and had therefore nothing to do with the compass; but now, having to take his regular turn at steering, he was greatly puzzled with its unsteadiness. He could steer in the night with tolerable accuracy, by giving him a star by which to steer; but the compass appeared to him to be calculated only to embarrass. With a view of remedying this difficulty, George had taken off the cover to the till of his chest, on which having marked the points of the compass, and pierced a hole in the centre for the pivot, he brought it aft, and with great appearance of complacency, and expectation of applause, placed it on deck before the helmsman, with the proper point directed forward to correspond with the course, and then exclaimed, "Dair, massa, dat compass be teady; George teer by him, well as anybody."

But this simplicity and conceit was more than redeemed by his tried fidelity, and heroic courage, of which the following is a remarkable instance. George had been a slave to some planter in Savannah; and one day, being in the woods with his master, they encountered an Indian, who was hunting. Some dispute arising, the Indian, having the advantage of being armed, threatened to shoot them. In consequence of this threat, they seized him and took away his gun; but after a little while, and with urgent entreaties and fair promises from him, they were induced to return it; first taking the precaution to dip it into water, to prevent an immediate use of it. This served again to rouse the anger of the Indian, who immediately took the readiest means for drying it. In the mean time George and his master had entered a canoe, and, pursuing their way in a narrow river or creek, had got a long distance from the spot where they had left the Indian; when, on looking back, they perceived him running after them on the bank. On arriving abreast of them he immediately took aim, which George perceiving, threw himself, as a shield, between his master and the ball, and was so severely wounded, that his life was, for many weeks, despaired of. After a confinement of six months, he entirely recovered; and, as a reward, his master gave him his liberty.

At the time he engaged with me, he had been a sailor about two years, and had been so invariably cheated out of his wages, that he had no other means of clothing himself than the advance I paid him. Such treatment had been productive of a tinge of misanthropy; and it was not until after long acquaintance, that he gave me his entire confidence. As this acquaintance continued for many years, (even as long as he lived,) and as he was a sharer of my various adventures, I shall have frequent occasion to mention his name in connexion with my own, while narrating them.

My other man had been a Prussian grenadier. He had served in the army of the Duke of Brunswick, at the time of his invading Holland to restore the authority of the Stadtholder, and in other campaigns; but, having a dislike to the profession, he had deserted, and had been, about eighteen months, a sailor in English vessels. During this time he had not acquired such a knowledge of steering, that we could leave him at the helm without watching him; and however brave he may have been in the ranks, he was the veriest coward imaginable, when called to the performance of duties aloft. In addition to this incapacity, he possessed a most ungovernable temper; and, being a powerful man, we had considerable difficulty in keeping him, at all times, in a state of subordination; a difficulty which was, in some degree, augmented by his very imperfect knowledge of our language, and the consequent embarrassment he found in making himself understood.

The last, as well as least, of our numbers was a little French boy of fourteen years, who possessed all the vivacity peculiar to his countrymen, and who, having been some time on board the Carmagnole and other privateers, had acquired many of the tricks of a finished man-of-war's man. Some months' residence in an English prison had given him the command of a few English words; but they were not of a selection that indicated much care in the teacher.

It was not uncommon for George, the Prussian grenadier, and the French boy, to get into a warm debate on the relative merits of their respective countries; for they were all men of great vivacity and patriotism; and sometimes (probably from not understanding each other) they would become so angry, as to render it necessary for the mate to interfere to restore tranquillity. At such moments I used to think, that if Hogarth could have been an observer, his genius would have done justice to the group. It may fairly be presumed, however, that such a ship's company, for an India voyage, was never before seen, and, moreover, that "we ne'er shall look upon its like again."

For several days after passing the Isle of Ushant, the wind was light from northwest and west-northwest, accompanied with a heavy swell from that quarter; and though our progress was, in consequence, slow, it was proportionally comfortable. Before we had reached the latitude of Cape Finisterre, the light wind, before which we had been sailing with all our canvass spread, died away, and left us, some hours, becalmed. During this time one of our pigs had got overboard, and was swimming away from the vessel. George, being an excellent swimmer, did not hesitate to go after him; but when he had caught him, at the distance from us of about twenty fathoms, a light puff of wind, termed by seamen a cat's-paw, took the sails aback, and suddenly increased our distance from George, who, perceiving it, and becoming alarmed, let go the pig, and swam for the vessel, crying out lustily, as he approached, "I dead, I dead." As he had not been long in the water, nor used such exertion as to cause extraordinary exhaustion, I was apprehensive, that he might be attacked by a shark. We threw towards him a spar, and set immediately about clearing away the boat; but before we could be ready to launch it, George had seized the spar, and, by its aid, had succeeded in getting along-side. When taken on board he did not hesitate to express his belief, that our going from him was intentional, and that, had the breeze continued, we should have left him for the purpose of saving his wages. Nor was it until after long experience, and repeatedly receiving his wages, when due, that he would acknowledge that he had judged me erroneously.

The day succeeding this adventure we had another, which had nearly brought our voyage to a close. Early in the morning we fell in with the British frigate, Stag. The wind was so light, and its influence on the manœuvres of the ship so counteracted by a deep and hollow swell, that, getting sternway, her counter came in contact with our broadside with a tremendous force, which threatened immediate destruction, and which must have been the result, but for the order, instantly given and obeyed, to "fill away." This saved us from a second shock; and we were happy to perceive we had received no other damage than that of breaking the rail. The officer of the frigate very politely offered to send their carpenter on board to repair this; but I declined, from my desire of not losing a moment's time in advancing towards those latitudes, where gales of wind were of less frequent occurrence. When we were released from this visit, the mate immediately set about exercising his ingenuity as carpenter; and, with great application, he completed the repairs, in a workmanlike manner, on the third day after meeting the accident.

We had now advanced far into the second week of our departure. The wind, though light, was fair, and the prospect was favorable for the continuance of good weather. These encouraging circumstances led me to hope, that we should reach the tropical latitudes without encountering a gale, and also, without meeting, what was more to be dreaded, any one of those Spanish or French privateers, which had frequented the track we were passing, and whose conduct, in many instances, to defenceless merchant vessels, had nearly equalled that of the ancient buccaneers.

We had passed by many vessels, but had carefully avoided speaking with any one. At length, on a very fine morning, as the sun rose, and when we were about fifty leagues west of Cadiz, we perceived a small sail in the northwest. At ten o'clock she was equally plain to be seen; and by noon we were satisfied she was in chase of, and was gaining on us. We kept steadily on our course, hoping that an increase of wind would give us an advantage, or that some other object might divert their attention. But our hopes were fallacious. The wind rather decreased; and when this was the case, we observed she appeared to approach us faster. By two o'clock we perceived she had latteen sails, and hence had no doubt of her being a privateer. Soon after she began to fire at us, but the balls fell much short. As the wind continued very light, it was soon apparent, that we could not escape, as we perceived that her progress was accelerated by means of a multitude of sweeps. To run any longer would only have been incurring the risk of irritating the captain of the buccaneer; we therefore rounded to, and prepared to be plundered.

As they came up with us, about five o'clock, they gave such a shout of "*Bonne prise! bonne prise!*" as would be expected from banditti subject to no control; but I felt considerable relief in the persuasion, that, as their flag indicated, they were French, and not Spanish. After the shouting had ceased, I was ordered, in very coarse terms, to hoist out my boat and come on board with my papers. I replied that I had not men sufficient to put out the boat. The order was reiterated, accompanied with a threat of firing into us. I then sent my men below, and waited the result, which was, that they got out their own boat. The officer, who came on board, I suppose to have been the captain himself, from the circumstance of his being a very intelligent man, and from my presence not being required on board the privateer. A cursory examination of our papers convinced him of our neutral character; and the exhibition of a passport with a seal and signature of one high in authority in the French government, while it astonished, seemed also to satisfy him, that the less trouble and detention he gave us the better; as he immediately ordered his ruffians to desist from clearing away for opening the hatches, which they had already begun, and to go on board their boat, where, after wishing me a good voyage, and regretting the detention he had caused, he joined them; and they returned to their privateer and sailed in pursuit of other adventures.

The result of this rencontre was better than I had anticipated; aware, as I was, of the general insubordination on board of vessels of this description. I had feared, that even if the chief had been disposed to prevent his men from plundering, it would not have been in his power; and I was much relieved by finding myself mistaken.

Pursuing a course for the Cape de Verde Islands, we came in sight of them, the thirtieth day from leaving Havre. It was my intention to stop at Port Praya, to obtain a supply of fruit and vegetables; but I was prevented by a gale of wind, in which we lay to, twelve hours, and had a fair opportunity of testing the good properties of the vessel for this important purpose. This was the only gale of any severity that we experienced during the passage; and, as evidence that it was of no inconsiderable violence, a ship came into the Cape of Good Hope, three days after our arrival there, which had lost her mizzenmast in the same gale.

It is well known to all who have crossed the ocean, and may easily be imagined by those who have not, that a passage at sea presents to the observer little else, from day to day, than the same unbounded, and (in tropical climes) unvaried horizon; the same abyss of waters, agitated, more or less, as it is acted upon by the wind ; the same routine of duties to be performed on board, which, in the trade winds, have seldom even the ordinary excitement, caused by reducing and making sail ; and when this monotonous round is interrupted, by speaking a vessel, by catching a porpoise, or by seeing a whale, the incident is seized with avidity as an important item to be inserted in the ship's log-book, or journal of the day's transactions.

As our experience was of this kind, I have only to notice, that we crossed the equator in the longitude of 25° ; and that we met with no occurrence, worthy of note, from the time of our leaving the Cape de Verde Islands to our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, excepting, that one night, when going before the wind with a strong breeze, the Prussian soldier brought over the main boom with such violence, as to part the sheet, and rouse all hands from their slumbers. As there was a considerable sea, it was not without great difficulty and risk, that the boom was again secured.

After passing the equator, we discovered, that one of our casks of water had nearly leaked out ; and, having failed to fill up the empty ones, it was doubtful if we had sufficient to carry us to the Isle of France. This consideration, and the desire of obtaining refreshments and a short respite from the fatigue and anxiety of such a passage, determined me to stop at the Cape ; as I believed, also, that our cargo might be sold advantageously there.

Shaping our course, accordingly, we came in sight of the Table Mount, on the 21st of March, 1798, just three months from the time of our leaving Havre. We were so near in before dark as to perceive, that we were signalled at the lion's head, but were not able to reach the anchorage until between nine and ten o'clock in the evening. We had scarcely dropped our anchor, when we were boarded by a man-of-war's boat; the officer of which, finding we were from France, immediately hurried me ashore, in my sea garb, to see the Admiral, (Sir Hugh C. Christian,) who, surrounded by a group of naval officers, appeared very earnest for such European news as I could give them. After passing nearly an hour with the Admiral, who treated me with great civility, and answering the many questions which were asked by the company, the officer, who took me from my vessel, was desired to convey me on board again; an hour having been previously named by the Admiral, at which I was to meet him, the next morning, at the government-house.

The arrival of such a vessel from Europe naturally excited the curiosity of the inhabitants of the Cape; and the next morning, being calm, we had numerous visitors on board, who could not disguise their astonishment at the size of the vessel, the boyish appearance of the master and mate, the queer and unique characters of the two men and boy who constituted the crew, and the length of the passage we had accomplished.

Various were the conjectures of the good people of the Cape, as to the real object of our enterprise. While some among them viewed it in its true light, that of a commercial speculation, others believed, that, under this mask, we were employed by the French government for the conveyance of their despatches; and some even went so far as to declare a belief, that we were French spies, and, as such, deserving of immediate arrest and confinement. Indeed, our enterprise formed the principal theme of conversation at the Cape, during the week subsequent to our arrival.

At the hour appointed I presented myself at the government-house, and was introduced to the Governor, Lord Macartney, in whose company I found, also, the Admiral. There was so much urbanity and affability in the reception I met with from the Governor as well as the Admiral, that it inspired me with confidence, and prevented my feeling any embarrassment. The Governor very politely handed me a chair; and, seated between these two distinguished men, I was prepared to answer, to the best of my knowledge, such questions as they should ask me, and to give them all the late information respecting European affairs, that my residence in that country, and my recent departure, enabled me to do. It was just at this period, that the flotilla were assembling, in the ports of the channel, for the invasion of England; and on this subject, in particular, they were very earnest to obtain information, seeming to be not without apprehension, that an invasion was really intended. While I related to them what had come under my own observation with regard to the preparation, and what I had heard from others, I expressed to them my belief, founded on the desperate nature of the undertaking, that nothing more was intended by it, than to keep England in a state of alarm, and to cause a corresponding increase of expenses.

Having interrogated me to their satisfaction on the political affairs of France, they adverted to the more humble business of the object of my enterprise, which the Admiral did not hesitate to declare he believed to be for the conveyance of despatches for the French government; and, in this belief, informed me, that he should take measures to prevent my going to the Isle of France. At the same time, and as an additional evidence of this persuasion, he had ordered, that a search should be made on board my vessel for the supposed despatches, and that all the papers and letters, found on board, should be brought to him. Consequently, my journal, book of accounts, and private letters and papers were submitted to his inspection; and the letters I had for French gentlemen in the Mauritius were all broken open.

On the conclusion of my visit to the Governor, who gave me permission to dispose of my cargo here if I desired, I went to the house of an old acquaintance, where I had lodged in a former voyage, and in what he considered more propitious times. Both he and his family seemed glad to see me, and invited me to take up my lodgings there again; but the safety of my vessel required my presence on board not less in port than at sea, and I therefore declined.

The day following, my papers and letters were returned to me by the secretary of the Admiral; and I was surprised by a proposition from him for the purchase of my vessel. I delayed giving an answer until the next day; and in the mean time my inquiries led me to believe, that my cargo would sell advantageously; but there was nothing but specie, which would answer my purpose to take away for it, and this was prohibited. With a provision for the removal of this difficulty, and a good price for my vessel, I was prepared to negotiate with the secretary. Meeting him, therefore, at the time appointed, and being both what in trade is called off-hand men, we soon closed the bargain, by his engaging to pay me, on delivery of the

Caroline and stores, five thousand Spanish dollars, and to obtain for me permission to export ten thousand. This so far exceeded the cost of the vessel, and was even so much more than I had expected to receive at the Isle of France, that I considered myself already well indemnified for all my trouble and anxiety.

As the Admiral was pressing to have the vessel discharged, it was my intention to land the cargo, next day, on my own account; but, in the mean time, I contracted with the merchant, at whose house I now resided, for the whole of it, at a moderate advance on the invoice; it being agreed that he was to pay the duties, the expense of landing, &c. My spirits were now much elevated with my success, and with the prospect of soon being rid of the Caroline and of the care inseparable from having such a vessel, so circumstanced.

But I was allowed but a short period to my exultation; new and alarming difficulties awaited me, of which I had no suspicion, and which were more harassing than the dangers of the winds and the waves. It appeared, that the duties on entries at the custom-house were a percentage on the invoice, and that it was a very common practice with the merchants to make short entries. The purchaser was aware, that to stand on equal footing with other merchants he must do as they did; but he seems not to have reflected, that, being known to be more hostile to the English government than any other individual at the Cape, he would be rigidly watched, and, if detected, would have less indulgence than any other. The consequence was a detection of the short entry and seizure of vessel and cargo. The merchant went immediately, in a supplicating mood, to the collector, in the hope of arranging the affair before it should become generally known; but it was all in vain.

The only alternative, which seemed now to be left me, was to appeal to the highest authority; and I determined to write to Lord Macartney, and prove to him, that, by my contract for the sale of the cargo, the duties were not to be paid by me, and that, consequently, I should have derived no benefit, had the attempt for evading them succeeded, but that, on the other hand, if the vessel and cargo were to be confiscated, I should be the sufferer, as it was doubtful if the merchant could make good the loss. I hoped that he might thus be induced to advise a less severe course than the collector intended to pursue. But how to write a suitable letter embarrassed me. I had no friend with whom to advise. I was entirely ignorant of the manner of addressing a nobleman, and at the same time was aware of the necessity of doing it with propriety. In this dilemma, I remembered to have seen, in an old magazine on board, some letters addressed to noblemen. These I sought as models; and they were a useful guide to me. After I had completed my letter in my best hand, and enclosed it in a neat envelope, I showed it to the Admiral's secretary, who appeared to be friendly to me. He approved of it, and advised my taking it myself to his Lordship immediately.

As the schoolboy approaches his master after having played truant, so did I approach Lord Macartney on this occasion. I delivered my letter to him; and, after hastily reading it, he sternly said, "he could not interfere in the business; there were the laws, and if they had been infringed, the parties concerned must abide the consequence"; but added, "he would speak to the collector on the subject." This addition, delivered in rather a milder tone, led me to encourage the hope, that the affair would not end so disastrously as if left entirely to the discretion of the collector. Nor were my hopes unfounded; as, the next day, the vessel, and that part of the cargo yet remaining on board, were restored to me; while the portion in possession of the collector was to be adjudged in the fiscal court, where it was eventually condemned, to the amount of about two thousand dollars.* The success of my letter was a theme of public conversation in the town, and was the means of procuring me the acquaintance of several individuals of the first respectability.

The delay, caused by this controversy with the collector, was unfavorable to the views of the Admiral, who began to evince symptoms of impatience, and would, probably, have taken out the cargo with his own men, if we had not set about it with earnestness, as soon as the vessel was released from seizure. Having, the day following, completed the unlading, I delivered the vessel to the officer who was authorized to take possession. In two days after, she was expedited, with a lieutenant and competent number of men (I believe for India); and, in a subsequent voyage, I learned that she had never been heard of afterwards. It is probable, that the officer in charge, having been accustomed only to large and square-rigged vessels, was not aware of the delicacy of management, which one so small and differently rigged, required; and to this her loss may be attributed.

The various drawbacks on my cargo, arising from seizure, some damage, and some abatement, reduced the net proceeds to about the original cost. This, with the amount of the vessel, I collected in Spanish dollars, making together, after my various disbursements, the sum of eleven thousand dollars, which I kept in readiness to embark in the first vessel that should enter the bay on her way to India or China. I was obliged, however, to wait several months before any such chance offered. In the mean time, my long residence and leisure at the Cape afforded me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with many families, and of visiting many places in the vicinity of Cape Town.

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* As a favor to the merchant, I consented to share the loss with him.

CHAPTER III.

Description of the Cape. — Of the Town. — Effects of Southeast Wind. — Devil's Table Cloth. — Season of Westerly Gales. — Dangerous to the Shipping. — Loss of the Sceptre. — Loss of Ship Jefferson. — Notice of the Inhabitants. — Their Feelings under the actual Government. — Simon's Bay. — Constantia. — Signal Hill. — Residence and Resource of the Man stationed there. — Table Mountain. — The Ascent and View therefrom. — Perilous Situation. — Mode of Rescue. — Descent and Return to Town.

The formation of this Cape is so remarkable, as to make a lasting impression on the memory of those who have once seen it. The group of lofty and steep hills, called the Devil's Mount, the Table-Land, the Sugar-Loaf, and the Lion's Rump, form a barrier on the south and the east sides of the town, which appears almost impassable. On a plain, at the foot of these hills, and on the border of Table Bay, is situated the beautiful town of the Cape. It presents a fine appearance when seen from the bay, and seems to possess all that neatness which is an acknowledged characteristic of the Dutch. The streets are parallel to each other, and are kept very clean. There is a large square for a parade ground, at the north part of the town, which is bounded by a canal bordered with a double row of trees. The Company's garden, as it is called, is a space of fifteen or twenty acres on the east side of the town. It is enclosed by a wall, and laid out in handsome walks, and forms one of the most delightful lounges in the world. In a retired part of this garden, and almost hidden with trees, is the residence of the governor. Most of the houses consist of two stories, and are covered with plaster; which being whitewashed every year, they have an uncommonly neat appearance.

During the summer months the inhabitants are greatly annoyed by the clouds of sand which are raised by the southeast wind, which is often so violent as to compel them to keep within doors, and penetrates into all the crevices of doors and windows which have not been carefully closed. These gales, which last two or three days, are followed by calms and light variable winds for the same length of time. During these gales, and for some time before, the top of the table-land is enveloped in thick clouds, which the people of the Cape call the Devil's Table-cloth. Although these winds are often so violent as to prevent communication with the shipping in the bay, yet they are rarely the cause of any disaster. Not so with the westerly gales which prevail in the months of June, July, and August, and bring in a sea which it is impossible to resist.

A melancholy instance of the power of these gales was seen in the loss of the English sixtyfour-gun ship Sceptre, with nearly all her crew. The Dutch East Indiamen were exclusively confined to the use of Simon's Bay at this season of the year. In times of peace it was common for the vessels of all nations, on their way to and from India, to touch at this place for refreshments; and then, almost every house was open for the reception of the captains and officers for a moderate compensation. But the vexations, experienced by neutral commerce at this period, were enough to discourage most navigators from stopping there. While I was there, the ship Jefferson of Boston was compelled to come in, from having been six months on her way from Boston to India. The suspicions of the government were roused; and, not satisfied with the examination of the log-book and papers, they caused her to be entirely unladed. And although she was at length released, yet before she could get away, a gale came on from the west, in which she went ashore and was totally lost.

The climate of the Cape is very healthy; which blessing many of the inhabitants attribute to the prevalence of the high winds; yet it is observed, that instances of longevity are very rare, and that few old persons are met with. The native citizens are, for the most part, hospitable, friendly, and affable. A love of ease and relaxation, and an aversion to much activity of body or mind, are striking characteristics in the men. The ladies are, generally, very pretty, have fine complexions, graceful and pleasing manners, and cultivated minds. The invariable and universal siesta causes a midnight silence and seclusion for the two or three hours immediately succeeding dinner. All the domestics, and most of the mechanics, are slaves; and, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, they are treated with more humanity than is generally supposed. Notwithstanding the increase of buildings, and the rise in value of real estate, as well as various other advantages, felt by the inhabitants since they submitted to the English government, there was, nevertheless, observable in many an impatience of a foreign yoke, a feeling of being a conquered people, and a sense of degradation, which was very natural, and which would not be easily effaced even under the mild and equitable government of the English.

In company with a native merchant I made an excursion to Simon's Bay, and to the pretty estate of Constantia. Not being able to procure lodgings on shore, we passed a night on board an American ship, which, together with several English men-of-war and Indiamen, was lying for security in Simon's Bay. At Constantia we were entertained with great hospitality and politeness by the proprietor, who showed us every part of his beautiful estate, which, for extreme neatness, as well as for profit, is unrivalled. The wine, made at this place, is well known in Europe and in the United States; though it is said, that more than treble the quantity produced on this estate, is annually sold under the name of Constantia. Its peculiar flavor is attributed to the properties of the soil; all attempts to produce the same elsewhere having failed.

An excursion to the flag-staff on Sugar-Loaf Hill was an afternoon's labor of no easy accomplishment. Before reaching the top, there are several perpendicular precipices of ten to fifteen feet to climb; and ropes are fastened to bolts, inserted in the rocks, to aid the ascent. The man, who is stationed here to signal the approach of vessels, is provided with a small brass cannon and several flags; the former to announce a sail in the horizon, and, at the same time, to attract the attention of the citizens; the latter to denote the kind of vessel and the nation to which she belongs. By these means, information of the approach of a vessel is given, many hours before her arrival in the bay. The habitation of this man is so confined, that his residence there would be considered a cruel punishment, were it not voluntary. It is a mere dog-kennel, partly formed by the rock, and partly artificial, but barely sufficient to shelter one person, in a sitting posture, from the rays of the sun and from the inclemency of the weather. The greatest interior space does not exceed five feet, from the den to the perpendicular precipice. A slave brings him his daily provisions and water; and this is the only opportunity the recluse has for conversation during the day. My visit was, therefore, considered by him as a kind of God-send, for which he appeared to be very grateful, and which he begged me to repeat.

The excursion over the Table Mountain, which is three thousand five hundred and eighty-two feet above the level of the ocean, was an undertaking of such labor, as to require the greater part of a day to perform it. It was advisable, also, on many considerations, to make up a party for the purpose. Accordingly, having engaged the mate of the Jefferson, and my own mate, to accompany me, we set out together on a fine, clear morning, provided with refreshments, but without a guide, not doubting, with the information given us, of being able to find our way. We met with no embarrassment in reaching the chasm, on one side of which were the craggy and irregular steps, by which only we could work our way to the top. The task was arduous, and required two hours of great exertion for its accomplishment. The day continued to be very clear; and the view amply repaid the toil of the ascent. It was limited on the north by high, irregular, and distant mountains; on the south and east by the ocean, and an horizon greatly extended; on the west was the bay with its shipping, diminished to the size of such toys as children play with; and immediately beneath us was the town, its gardens and streets, distinctly seen, though its inhabitants could not be distinguished with the unaided eye.

A large part of the day was passed in rambling about the top of the mountain, and enjoying the extensive and beautiful views from it; and the time had arrived to think of descending. Desirous of returning by a different route, I attempted to find a new one in a chasm, which, from the imperfect view I could take of it, resembled the path we had ascended. But, the better to satisfy myself, with great difficulty and imminent danger of falling, I climbed down a precipice of about twelve feet, and found myself upon a bridge formed by the falling away of the rock within the chasm, and extending across about twenty feet. Its width varied from two to four feet; and it seemed, where narrowest, as if any additional weight would cause it to give way. On either side, and beneath this bridge, was an abyss, of which I could scarcely see the bottom; it being fifteen hundred, or, perhaps, two thousand feet deep. I now saw plainly, that I must return by the way I came; as, at the other end of the bridge, the height was the same, and the rocks jutted over. I made known to my companions my perilous situation, and that a slip in climbing must be attended with certain destruction. In order, therefore, to help me up again, Mr. Barnes lay on the ground, and held his jacket over the precipice, while the mate of the Jefferson held Barnes to prevent his being pulled over. With this management, and the scanty support I could find for my feet, I succeeded in gaining the summit, and in escaping from a situation so perilous, that, even at this day, I do not recur to it without shuddering. After this I attempted no more to find a new way, but descended as we had come up; and, before sunset, arrived at my lodgings very much fatigued.

CHAPTER IV.

Impatience to be off. — Embark for Batavia. — Chased by a Brig. — Outsail her. — Arrival at Batavia. — Governor's Surprise at our quick Passage. — Hotel. — American Commerce. — Effect of the Climate on Europeans. — Market. — The Bay. — Sharks and Alligators. — No Opportunity to freight to the United States — Embark for China. — Arrival at Macao. — A Typhon. — Lose an Anchor. — Arrive at Wampoa. — At Canton — Embarrassment as to next Destination. — Arrival and Purchase of an English Cutter. — Associates in the Adventure. — Factories. — Recourse of Beggars to compel Alms. — Enter the City. — Result.

More than four months had elapsed since my arrival at the Cape; and, during that period, no opportunity had offered for India. My impatience to be away was now so great, that I determined to embrace any chance that presented itself for going to the east, without regard to the particular place; and, on the first of August, the brig Betsey having touched in the bay, in a short passage from Baltimore, bound to Batavia, I embarked in this vessel, taking with me the proceeds of my vessel and cargo in Spanish dollars. I was accompanied by my black man George, for whom I had contracted an attachment, which was evidently reciprocal.

The day after leaving the Cape, we had a strong westerly wind and a considerable sea, and, at noon, while making rapid progress on our way, we discovered a brig standing on a wind across us, which we had reason to suppose was a cruiser. As our vessel was a remarkably swift sailer, we decided not to submit to the trouble and detention which a visit would cause, and therefore kept steadily on our course, which, being towards him, induced the belief, that we intended to speak him, and prevented the preparation he would have made, had he known our intention. When just clear of gun shot, we altered our course two points; on seeing which he immediately fired, and instantly set about getting up topgallant masts and yards, and crowding all sail after us; but it was like the tortoise in pursuit of the hare. Before dark his hull was not to be seen.

We had a continuance of the strong westerly winds until we entered the trades, south of the island of Java; and our arrival at Batavia, on the first of September, in only thirty days from the Cape, was a circumstance so extraordinary, that it required the confirmation of letters which we carried to convince the Governor of the fact.

I took rooms at the great public hotel; and here, as well as in other buildings in the city, there were traces of the splendor which had attended the better days of the Dutch East India Company. The spacious rooms were painted in a tawdry, but expensive manner, in red and gold, or blue and gold. The furniture was as massive and costly as it could be made; a band of a dozen slaves always played during dinner; and a multitude of servants, shabbily dressed, were in attendance. Every thing about the establishment indicated an attempt at magnificence, which was but ill-supported by the present state of Dutch commerce.

Most of the strangers, who then visited Batavia, were Americans; and there were few, or none of them, whose appetites required the stimulus of a band, or who had sufficient taste for oriental luxuries, to be willing to contribute to them further than custom rendered necessary.

Batavia is built on a flat, which extends ten or twelve leagues. Most of its streets have canals of stagnant water, which are, doubtless, among the causes of the fevers so prevalent there ; as these are avoided by taking a residence five or six miles in the country. The houses generally are built of brick, plastered and whitewashed ; and the apartments are spacious and well-adapted to the climate. But, notwithstanding all their luxuries, most of the residents show, by their pallid countenances and emaciated figures, that they are sacrificing health to gain. Yet the certainty of this does not prevent adventurers from seeking their fortunes there, apparently blinded to consequences by the eagerness of pursuit.

The Chinese constitute much the largest and most industrious part of the population. They inhabit the suburbs, and are said to amount to seventy or eighty thousand. The domestics are principally Malay slaves, and are considered much less docile than the Africans. The market of Batavia is well supplied with all the delicious fruits, which are peculiar to the tropical climates. Pine apples, in particular, are very abundant, and so cheap, that a hundred may be obtained for a dollar. Animal food, beef and mutton particularly, is, as in most tropical countries, generally poor, and without flavor. Fowls are very abundant and cheap. The natives here, as in India, live principally on rice, which is very cheap and much cultivated. The bay is spacious ; and the ships ride with safety therein, screened from the only wind which could injure them by seventeen or eighteen very pretty islands, which are not less ornamental than serviceable. The alligators and sharks are very numerous; and instances are related of boats being upset on the bar, and their whole crews devoured by them.* Those, whom business shall lead to Batavia, for there can be no other inducement, will remain there no longer than is absolutely necessary.

It was very evident, soon after my arrival, that I need only be detained until I could take passage for China; for, though the comparative value of the produce of the island here, and in the United States, offered a profit of one and a half to two capitals, yet there was no one of the several vessels lying here which could take freight; all having sufficient capital to lade on their own account. If I could have invested the amount of my property in a freight of coffee, for the United States, I should have made a very short and lucrative voyage. But my efforts proving unsuccessful to effect this, I took advantage of an opportunity, which was offered in the ship Swift of New York, for Canton, after having spent ten days at Batavia. For I was well aware, that though I might not be able to ship such bulky articles as coffee or sugar, there was no doubt of my finding room enough for the fabrics of China, in which a much greater capital than I possessed could be invested so as to occupy but a small space.

Having removed my baggage and specie, from the Betsey to the Swift, we sailed next morning, the 12th of September, for Canton, in company with two of the Danish East India Company's ships, the commanders of which agreed to keep company with us through the straits of Barca, for mutual security against any attack of the Malay pirates. Our ships sailed so nearly alike, that no day passed when we were not within speaking distance; and when the weather was fine, and the sea smooth, which was often the case, we exchanged visits. The commodore had a band on board; and in the bright moonlight evenings, when the breeze was only sufficient to keep the sails from flapping against the masts, and the ripple of the ship's passage through the water scarcely heard, the music of this band was so delightful, that it even now brings back the most pleasing associations, whenever memory retraces the incidents of this passage.

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* It would therefore be the extreme of rashness to bathe in the bay, though the heat renders the desire of doing so very strong.

We were compelled, by calms and the darkness of the night, to anchor two or three times in the straits of Barca, but met with no embarrassment from pirates, or from rocks and shoals. It was, however, apparent, that, although we had taken care to keep well to the eastward, we only secured our passage; having taken the northeast wind so many days before our arrival, that we with difficulty gained the anchorage in Macao roads. The three ships arrived at this place within a few hours of each other, after a passage of thirty-one days from Batavia.

The Danish ships, having agents at Macao, procured pilots, and proceeded to Wampoa without delay; but we were not so fortunate as to obtain a pilot, and were obliged, in consequence, to wait a week in the roads. During this period, we encountered a typhon, which blew with such violence, and caused such a sea, that, although our yards and topmasts were struck, we parted a cable, lost an anchor, and were in danger of being driven out to sea; but, after drifting several miles, finally brought up with the other anchor. After the weather became again settled, it was judiciously determined by the captain to remain no longer in so exposed a situation; and, having procured a fisherman to pilot us as far as Anson's Bay, which is a safe anchorage at the entrance of the river Tigris, we arrived and anchored there, without further embarrassment.

Here, Captain White received a letter from the captain of the Ontario, a ship belonging to the same owners, informing him of his safe arrival at Wampoa, and the exertions he was making to send him a pilot. He mentioned, that he was in want of a first and second officer. This circumstance appeared to offer a favorable opening for me; inasmuch as, if I could obtain the chief mate's office, the privilege attached to it would insure the transport of all my property. I therefore settled it in my mind, that this was my destination. Having waited three days more, and no pilot appearing, Captain White determined to go up to Wampoa in his own boat; and I accompanied him. Soon after leaving the ship we were overtaken by a heavy shower, which wet us completely through. When above second bar, towards evening, the tide set so strong against us, that, perceiving we made no headway, we determined to go on board a large Swedish ship, then lying at the bar, and there wait the return of the flood. We were received with great hospitality, and, during our visit, were treated with as much kindness as if we had been conferring, rather than receiving a benefit. We remained with these friendly people until ten o'clock in the evening, when, the tide having turned, we took leave, and pursued our course towards

Wampoa, but, unfortunately, by mistaking our course, and getting into a wrong branch of the river, were out all night, and did not arrive on board the Ontario, before eight o'clock in the morning. A good breakfast renewed our energies for pursuing our course to Canton, where I was the more anxious to arrive, from the fear, that the office I sought might be filled by another before my arrival. We started, therefore, as soon as the flood tide came in. Arriving at the Ontario's factory, I had the mortification to learn from the commander, that he had engaged an officer only the day previous. Thus, this resource failed me. As I had confidently counted upon it, and as fancy had been busy in anticipating a meeting with my friends at home under such favorable circumstances, my disappointment was very great.

The next plan was to freight my property in some one of the American ships; a thing, usually, of very easy accomplishment; but, at this time, it was not practicable at such a rate as I felt myself warranted in paying. It then occurred to me, that I might obtain a small premium on my money to Calcutta, and that there I should be able to lay in an investment for the United States, and freight it from thence on better terms than I could make here. With this impression I was about contracting with the captain of the country ship Zoroaster, to let him have my money on respondentia, and to embark with him for Calcutta. But before definitely closing this negotiation, a little English cutter arrived at Wampoa from the Northwest Coast of America, and was offered for sale. This suggested to me an enterprise which would be attended with great difficulties and dangers, but which offered a prospect of fortune in proportion. As my means alone were not sufficient to buy this vessel and to put in a cargo suitable for a voyage to the Northwest Coast, I engaged the assistance of Messrs. D. Green and E. Townsend, of New Haven, and purchased this cutter, of about fifty tons burden; two thirds for my account and one third for theirs; having abandoned my Calcutta plan. She was called the Dragon; but as my papers were for the Caroline, I changed her name accordingly. From the remnants of the cargo of a Boston vessel, returned from the Northwest Coast, and such articles as I could procure from the shops at Canton, I made up a very suitable investment to the amount of nine thousand dollars.

By the time I was ready to sail on this enterprise, nearly three months had elapsed since my arrival at Canton; during which period my expenses had been moderate, from having the good fortune of associating myself with the inmates of the Elizabeth's factory. The factories are handsome houses, built in the European style, on the margin of the river, for the accommodation of those who have business to transact at Canton. They are generally of two stories; the lower being used as warehouses. They are whitewashed, and, with their respective national flags displayed on a high staff before them, make a very pretty appearance. In former times the ships came and returned with the regularity of the monsoons; and the resident supercargoes, during their absence, were not permitted to remain at Canton, but removed to the Portuguese town of Macao. This routine has, of late years, been broken up by the disregard of etiquette and the established seasons, on the part of the Americans, who, coming and going all the year round, have inverted all the ancient rules of doing business at Canton.

In the rear of the factories, and spreading out on either side, are the houses and shops of those merchants and mechanics, who derive their support from trading with foreigners; a dense and active population, who evince a shrewdness in their dealings, not surpassed by those strangers who traffic with them, and who are too apt to treat them with contempt. The police of this portion of the community is so lax, that petty thefts are very common, and rarely punished. An additional evidence of this laxity is also manifested in the occasional practice of beggars, who extort alms from the shopkeepers, by covering themselves with a coat of the most filthy odor, and thus rendering themselves so disgusting, that the shopkeepers, to prevent their coming in, stand ready at the door with the contribution. Great numbers of the poor population are born, reared, and die in small boats of twelve to fifteen feet long, which have a bamboo covering to screen them from the sun and from the inclemency of the weather; and in no other part of the world, perhaps, is it so clearly demonstrated, in how little space, and on what slender means, man may subsist.

The Chinese are decided idolaters, and have an annual show and procession for propitiating an evil demon. They have numerous houses of worship, in which are kept images of gods, which resemble, in some respects, those of the most barbarous nations of Indians. At one of these houses, on the opposite side of the river, were several of the priesthood, whose dress bore some resemblance to that of Franciscan friars, and whose business was principally to take care of the sacred hogs. These were about twenty in number, and were in an inclosure. They are never killed, but are left to die in the regular course of time ; and several of them were so unwieldy, that it was not without great difficulty they could move themselves a few feet one way or the other.

The pertinacity, with which the Chinese adhere to the ancient practice of interdicting to strangers the entrance to their city, is still undiminished. Having, in one of my excursions, come near to the gate, and observing no one on duty to prevent the entrance of strangers, I walked in, and had proceeded a distance of about thirty feet, when a hue and cry was made ; and a dozen people came running up to me, and, with earnest looks and violent gestures, pointed to the gate, and indicated, by signs that could not be mistaken, that I must return. I did not hesitate to comply with wishes so clearly manifested, and where the power of enforcing them was so apparent. Within the wall I saw nothing in the appearance of the streets and houses, differing from those without ; and I am induced to believe, that the rigor, in forbidding access to foreigners, arises from the observance of the customary Asiatic jealousy with regard to the women. Of the character, manners, customs, and habits of the Chinese, so much better accounts are given by those who have had greater opportunities of observing, that I shall not attempt to describe them.

CHAPTER V.

Information from Boston. — Difficulty of obtaining Men. — Northeast Monsoon. — A Choice of Difficulties. — Sail from Anson's Bay. — Anchoring when the Tides were against us. — Narrow Escape. — Rocks and Shoals. — Struck and stopped on a sunken Ledge. — Came off as the Tide rose. — Anchor, and procure Water and Wood. — Curiosity of the People. — Stormy Weather. — Pass through a Breaker unhurt. — Keep Company with a Chinese Fleet. — They enter Amoy. — Anchor outside. — Dangerous Navigation. — Island of Kemoy. — Mutiny. — Means of subduing it. — Leave six Men behind. — Visit from a Chinese. — Weather the North End of Formosa. — Heavy Gales across the Pacific. — Discontent of the Crew.

By a recent arrival from Boston, I learned that several vessels were fitting from thence for the Northwest Coast; and as my success depended mainly on arriving there before them, I spared no exertion for the accomplishment of this purpose. But for this information, it had been my intention to wait until the strength of the monsoon had diminished. To procure a competent number of men was a task of such difficulty, that, when any one offered his services, I was not very particular in inquiring whence he came, or how well he was qualified; it was sufficient for my purpose if he was a white man, and presented an appearance of health and strength; for it was indispensable to our safety with the Indians, that our crew should be composed of Europeans or Americans. Most of my men were deserters from Indiamen; and these were generally the worst of a bad crew. With such as I could procure, however, I at length completed my complement, sixteen men before the mast, fourteen of whom were English and Irish, and two Americans. In the cabin we were five in number, including George, who acted as steward, and the linguist; making together twenty-one. The vessel was remarkably strong and well built; well coppered; mounted ten brass four-pound cannon; with a proper number of muskets, pistols, pikes, &c.

At this season of the year, the northeast monsoon was blowing with its greatest force, and the current was strong in proportion. No track could be pointed out, therefore, by which we could arrive at such a northern latitude as to be free from the influence of the trade wind, which was not fraught with difficulties and dangers. The most direct course was to pass between the southern end of Formosa and the northern point of Luzon, by the Bashee Islands. But here, the effect of such a sea, as would be met, upon so short a vessel, combined with a strong lee current, presented obstacles sufficient to discourage the attempt. To follow the track of Captain Meares, at the same season of the year, in 1788, by going south, and endeavouring to get our easting on the equator, would doubtless be the easiest method; but would unavoidably take up so much time as to defeat my object. The course which appeared to me to offer the best prospect of success, though attended with more danger than either of the others, was to beat up along the shore of the coast of China. For I was persuaded that the small size of my vessel would enable me to keep so near the shore, as sometimes to have a favorable current; to be protected, occasionally, by a projecting point, from the roughness of the sea; and to come to anchor when it appeared that we were losing ground. The attempt, I was aware, was an arduous and a hazardous one ; and of its impracticability I was assured, by some of the most experienced navigators in those seas. But I considered that a failure, by arriving too late on the coast, would be equally disastrous with any misfortune that could arise from making the attempt. I was also the more encouraged to make the trial, as I could not learn that it had ever been attempted at the same season of the year ; consequently, that my advisers were not warranted in declaring so confidently that it was impracticable.

With such impressions, with my vessel well equipped, and with a crew, whose appearance made it difficult to believe that most of them had not been familiar with crime, I sailed from Anson's Bay on the 10th of January, 1799, in the morning. Having a strong breeze, we passed Macao Roads at four P. M., at a long distance from the shipping, fearing we might be brought to, and our men taken out. During the night, we passed between the Lema Islands and very near to one of them ; which I ventured to do, from the local knowledge possessed by the chief mate. The inconvenience, arising from the want of a chart of the coast and Islands, was immediately experienced. The small and imperfect one I possessed was not of the least use, and hence our utmost vigilance was constantly required. In the morning and forenoon of the 11th, we made several tacks off and on ; but the current was so strong against us, that notwithstanding we had a fresh breeze and smooth sea, we gained nothing to windward ; and as we had not been able to complete our watering and wooding at Anson's Bay, we went in and anchored near a small fishing town for this purpose.

Here, we were soon visited by as great a number of the inhabitants as boats could be found to convey. Both old and young, of either sex, came off to see the Fanquis, as they called us. Among them, was one who spoke the Portuguese language; and who, for a moderate compensation, procured for us the supply we required. In the mean time, the numbers had greatly increased, and evinced a strong desire to come on board. As it would have been very imprudent to permit this, I found myself obliged to station men in different parts of the vessel, with boarding pikes, to keep them off.

In the afternoon, the current appearing to have diminished, we weighed anchor, and perceived, towards evening, that we had gained considerably; but, as there were appearances of bad weather, and we were abreast a deep bay which promised a shelter, we ran in and came to anchor; and thus escaped the fatigue and danger of a stormy night at sea. From eight o'clock in the morning until late in the afternoon of the 12th, our efforts to gain to windward were ineffectual; indeed, such was the force of the current, that we could not reach the place we had left in the morning; and the succeeding night, it being calm, we were obliged to lie at anchor outside. The next day, (13th,) having but a light breeze, we used our sweeps; by the aid of which, and keeping close in shore, we advanced a little. In beating through a narrow strait, formed by a point of the coast and a rocky island, against which the sea broke with great fury, and at the critical moment, when passing not more than fifteen yards to windward, the peak halyards slipped from the pin to which they were belayed, and the peak of the mainsail ran down.

As all hands were on deck, it was instantly hoisted again; but such was the force of the swell, the wind being light, that before we had got by we were thrown so near the rock as to reach it with an oar. After this escape we stood out to sea, with the wind from east-northeast, blowing in the night very strong, which caused a considerable increase of sea. This obliged us to carry a press of sail, and presently our jib split; we then reefed the mainsail, set a second-sized jib, and a little after midnight tacked in shore.

At daylight of the 14th, we were not a little elated to find ourselves considerably to windward of the place we left the last evening, notwithstanding a rough sea. We continued all day successfully plying to windward, and in the evening, it being calm, we anchored in fifteen fathoms. All day of the 15th, we had light airs and calms by turns; so that when we could gain nothing by the help of our sweeps, we anchored; and when the breeze came, weighed again; by these means we advanced, though very slowly and with much labor.

In the forenoon of the 16th, the weather being calm, we rowed in shore and anchored under the lee of an island, and near a very extensive, sandy beach, not far from a fishing town. The inhabitants soon came off to us, and I engaged one of them to take our empty water-casks ashore and fill them; and to bring us a supply of oranges. Of others, I purchased, at a moderate price, some very good fish. These people were better dressed and were more civil than those who visited us on the 11th; and, when we were leaving them, requested a paper, describing the vessel and our destination.

On the 17th it was apparent, that we had arrived at a shoaler and consequently more dangerous part of the coast than we had, hitherto, been navigating; and could not, therefore, without great risk, work along shore at night, as we had done. The wind was very light during the day; but towards evening, freshened so much as to make it necessary to reef the sails. We stood off shore until two o'clock on the morning of the 18th, and then tacked towards the land; in expectation, that, as we had carried as much sail all night as the vessel would bear, we should gain very considerably to windward; but, at daylight, had the disappointment to find ourselves at least three leagues to leeward of the land we left the preceding evening. To lose so much, in so short a time, was very discouraging; for, with our greatest exertions, we could hardly hope to regain it in twenty-four hours. This also convinced me, that we could do nothing by keeping far from the shore. In the evening, as well as throughout the succeeding night, a breeze from the land favored us very much; and, by keeping close in, we gained even more than our preceding day's loss.

On the morning of the 19th, we had a pleasant breeze from east-northeast, making short tacks near the shore; and soon after eight, A. M., we doubled a point, which opened to our view a large sandy bay, and in which there appeared to be many dangerous rocks and breakers. Keeping our lead constantly going, we had very irregular soundings, from five to two and a half fathoms; when, suddenly, as we were sailing at the rate of about three knots, we ran upon a sunken ledge. As the vessel hung only forward, we lowered the sails and hoisted out the boat, with a view to carry out an anchor astern; but, unfortunately, in putting the anchor into the boat, the bill of it struck with such force against one of the planks in the bottom as to render her useless until she was repaired. This was a discouraging circumstance, as the vessel lay very uneasy ; but there was no other resource than to hoist the boat again on deck, and stop the leak in the most expeditious way possible. While we were thus engaged, the tide rose so much, that the vessel slid off the rock, unaided by any efforts of ours ; and apparently without having received any injury. Our latitude was 22°, 35′ north.

Having secured our boat and anchor, and again made sail, we stood off to sea, so far as to enable us to weather this shoal on the opposite tack. Towards evening, perceiving the current to be strong against us, we came to anchor and lay all night. We now were encouraged by the discovery, that we had regular tides setting north and south ; and as soon as it began to set in our favor, on the 20th, we weighed anchor and began beating. But, having a short, irregular sea to contend with, we made but little progress during the day ; and so entirely did the coast appear to be strewed with rocks and shoals, that it could not be approached in the night, without the most imminent danger of losing our vessel ; hence the necessity of finding an anchorage for the night, before the day closed. We succeeded in doing this, by running in where there was a number of junks at anchor ; and near a considerable settlement, before which appeared to be a fort.

As soon as we had anchored, a number of visitors came off to us ; but, as no one of them knew any of the European languages, our communications were confined to signs ; by means of which I succeeded in replenishing our stock of wood and water. While the Chinaman was engaged in filling our water-casks, Mr.

Smith, the chief mate, made an excursion on shore. As soon as he landed, a person, who seemed to possess some authority, came up to him, and made signs that he should follow him to the fort. He was there introduced to a Mandarin, who was, doubtless, the commandant, and who, being made to comprehend the object of our visit, manifested a desire to gratify it; and behaved with great civility. It appeared as if these people had never before seen an European, or American. They followed him in crowds to the fort, and back again to the landing-place. All labor, for the time, was abandoned; and even the actors, who were then engaged on a public stage, suspended their *sing song*, while the "fanqui" was passing.

The following morning (21st) we sailed again, accompanied by a number of the junks, also bound to windward; and from this time until the 24th, we had no other wind than the regular monsoon; sometimes blowing very strong, so that we could gain nothing by beating; we then generally sought a smooth place in which to anchor; and even when the wind was moderate, we were always obliged to anchor while the tide was setting against us. We passed every day vast fleets of fishing boats; and were in sight of several towns, some of which appeared to be of considerable size.

On the morning of the 24th, I was equally surprised and delighted with a breeze springing up from the south-west, which, increasing at noon, continued throughout the day, and afforded such an enlivening prospect, that I began to flatter myself with the belief, that we had seen the worst of our passage. But I was not long permitted to indulge so pleasing a hope; as, before eight o'clock in the evening, the wind shifted suddenly, in a squall, to its old quarter, the northeast, and blew with great violence.

On the 25th, we gained considerably in the forenoon; but towards evening the wind increased so as to bring us under double-reefed sails. The night was rainy and dark, with a rough sea, into which we were plunging, without reaping any advantage; as, in the morning, our position differed little or none from what it was the preceding evening. On the evening of the 26th, preferring the chance of anchoring where we were not well sheltered, to passing such a night as the last, we came to anchor under the lee of a rock, soon after sunset; where we rode very securely until between ten and eleven o'clock, when, the wind having increased very much, we struck adrift. All hands were called immediately; we hove up the anchor, and, under double-reefed sails, stood out to sea, until four A. M., when we tacked in shore; the wind and sea having so increased as to keep us buried most of the time, even under our storm-sails. Approaching the coast, and when within about three leagues of it, we suddenly perceived a breaker; but, as the vessel was going at a rapid rate, we were in the midst of the foam almost at the moment of this discovery. The vessel struck once, in the hollow of the sea, and was enveloped in the succeeding billow, but passed over without receiving any injury; her deck, at the same time, was covered with sand.

It had now become essential that we should find a harbour; as we could do no more than drift to leeward by remaining out. But to seek one, in a gale of wind, without a chart, and on a coast to which we were all strangers, was attended with great hazard. When we had run about four leagues to leeward, the man at mast-head perceived a deep, sandy bay; the access to which appeared to be free from danger; and the sea was now so high, that any shoal which could take us up, would show itself. We therefore ran boldly in, and doubling round a projecting point of sand, came to anchor near a fleet of junks; which we found were bound north, and had, like ourselves, put in to evade the storm. The gale continued throughout this and the following day, accompanied with frequent and heavy squalls of rain; and the weather as cold as it is commonly in Boston, in the month of December. After our recent fatigue and anxiety, the relaxation and comfort, afforded by lying two days and a night in so smooth a harbour, while the storm was howling, and the sea roaring without, was almost beyond the power of description.

In the evening of the 28th, there was evidently a considerable abatement of the gale; and by midnight the weather was serene and pleasant. Before dawn on the 29th, we perceived a muster on board the junks, for getting under way; and, following their example, we also weighed anchor, and went out in company with thirty-two sail; with which we plied to windward till one P. M., when, the tide making against us, we all came to anchor in three and a half fathoms, opposite a small fishing town.

We perceived, during this day, that when working up in smooth water, sometimes caused by a projecting point, our vessel was decidedly superior to the junks in sailing; but that when we got out where the sea was rough, they had as much the advantage of us; indeed, I was astonished to perceive how fast such square, uncouth, ill-shaped craft, with bamboo sails, would work to windward in a sea, which almost buried my cutter.

At eleven o'clock in the evening, we perceived the junks to be getting under way; and concluded we could not do better than to keep company with them, which we did throughout the night; and, in the morning of the 30th, found we had gained very considerably. Between four and five A. M., the tide set against us so strongly, that we barely maintained our position; and while a part of the fleet went in shore and anchored, a part remained under sail. At ten o'clock, we had again a favorable current, of which the whole fleet took advantage, and kept plying to windward till four P. M., when we all stood into a deep bay, or estuary, at the inner extremity of which is the town of Amoy; a place of great trade, if a judgment can be formed by the vast number of vessels which we perceived to be lying there.

The masters of the two junks that were nearest to us, made motions that were not difficult to understand, that we should go and anchor under the lee of an island a little to windward of us; which we did at six o'clock, near two Chinese junks. The captain of one of these came on board, and informed us, that the name of the town was Amoy; that the land about three and a half leagues to windward, was the Island Kemoy; and that we must keep the lead going all the time, as there were numerous rocks and shoals in the intermediate space.

Some very neat houses, surrounded with trees and shrubbery, and having the appearance of country seats of opulent men, were beautifully situated on the side of a hill opposite to the spot where we had anchored; and the whole island, of apparently not more than two miles in circumference, presented a highly cultivated and pleasing appearance. During the day, we had passed several considerable settlements, one of which had a wall round it; and the country, generally, exhibited an appearance of great cultivation. We dared not take advantage of the night tide, after the account of the dangers which the Chinaman had given us, and therefore remained at anchor all night. I would gladly have procured a pilot, but could not; and had no other resource than following the imperfectly conveyed directions of the Chinaman, and trusting to the lead and a good look out, for safety.

Desirous of reconnoitring the ground before us at low water, when some of the reefs would discover themselves, we remained at anchor on the 31st for this purpose; and saw many rocks in our track, which were not visible at high water. Of these we took the bearings, and saw how to avoid many of the dangers which were pointed out to us by the Chinaman.

Early on the morning of the 1st of February, we resumed the task of beating to windward; and although we had frequently only two fathoms of water, and did not always deepen it by standing off shore, we yet, fortunately, reached in safety the anchorage under the lee of the Island Kemoy towards evening, after having passed a day of great anxiety and fatigue.

The duty had now been so arduous, the prospect of its duration so uncertain, and the dangers so appalling, that the men, unceasingly exposed to wet and cold, became quite disheartened; and, during the ensuing night, entered into a combination to compel me to return to Macao. This was manifested in the morning, by a general refusal to weigh anchor, when the order was given. In this determination they were so well agreed, that I did not attempt to force them, otherwise than by declaring to them, that if they would not work they should not eat, and took the necessary precaution to prevent their getting provisions. On this they became very boisterous; using insolent and abusive language to myself and officers; swearing they would have provisions; and providing themselves with axes, crowbars, and whatever weapons they could find, to enforce their threat; or possibly to take possession of the vessel.

It was now very evident, that no time was to be lost in putting ourselves in a state of defence; which, if it did not discourage the attempt, should defeat the success of any desperate measure they might plan. With this view, I caused a four-pound cannon, loaded with langrage, to be pointed forward from each side of the quarter-deck; and each officer, at the same time, providing himself with a pair of loaded pistols, we had nothing to apprehend from an attack, while we observed the degree of vigilance the case demanded. When this preparation was made, I forbade any man to come abaft the mast, on penalty of being fired at; and declared to them, that if I perceived any number coming aft together, I would discharge one of the cannon among them.

With this view, I had constantly a man on the alert, at each gun, with a lighted match; and we relieved each other every two hours. Aware that this state of things could not be of long duration, neither myself nor officers attempted to procure any sleep during the succeeding night.

Having remained in this hostile attitude for about twenty-four hours, without perceiving any diminution of the resolution of the mutineers, it occurred to me, that if they would consent to be set on shore, they would soon be glad to be taken on board again on such terms as I should prescribe. When, therefore, I made the proposition to them, they readily acceded to it; and were immediately landed on the beach. The curiosity of the inhabitants to see them was such, that they were incessantly surrounded by a great crowd, and their situation became extremely irksome and uncomfortable; besides which, they could obtain no other food than a scanty supply of rice. The next morning, (3d), we perceived the eldest of the party, (a good-natured old man-of-war's-man, of about fifty, whose pride of adhering to his comrades, rather than hostility to us, had led him into his present trouble,) coming down to the beach and waving his jacket, as if he wanted to speak with us. Supposing he might be deputed by the others to make some proposal, I sent the boat, with the chief mate, and with George and the linguist to row him. Old Will, (for that was the name by which he was called,) had no other favor to ask, than permission to come on board again on any terms. He was accordingly brought off; and appeared to be so much ashamed of his conduct, and promised so fairly to behave well in future, that I forgave him. He gave a lamentable account of the great inconvenience they experienced from the excessive curiosity of the inhabitants to see them; and from which they had been partially relieved by the kindness of a humane Mandarin, who gave them shelter in his house. He also mentioned the regret, expressed by several of them, at having acceded to my proposal of leaving the vessel.

A few hours after old Will had been taken on board, I saw all the others getting into a Chinese boat; and therefore made preparation to keep them off, if they should attempt to come on board without permission. When they had arrived within hail, I cautioned them, on their peril, to approach no nearer. They said, the Mandarin had sent them off, and they dared not return. With a cannon pointed towards the boat, I threatened them with destruction if they attempted to advance. The Chinamen, who were at the oars, seeing this, became so alarmed that they hastened to the shore again. This I conceived to be the proper moment for getting my men on board on my own terms. Accordingly, the mate and myself, well armed, and rowed by two men, went to the beach; and calling one at a time into the boat, took their solemn promise of future good behaviour.

There were two desperate fellows, the ringleaders, whom I determined not to take on board again on any conditions. I had recently learned that they were convicts, who had escaped from Botany Bay; and that the one, whom, from his intelligence and activity, I had made boatswain, had once been master of a Liverpool guineaman. This man, probably suspecting my intention, attempted to come without being called; and when refused, he immediately opened his clasp knife, and presenting it to the breast of his comrade, who was advancing towards the boat, threatened him with instant death if he attempted to pass him. I then levelled my musket at him; but instantly recollecting that we had already secured men enough to navigate the vessel with safety, desisted from firing it; and returned on board with all but six; hoping, that, with a little further delay, we should obtain the other four, of which I was desirous. Accordingly, next morning, seeing them again on the beach, I went to them, armed as before; and found they had determined not to separate; though they all made fair promises of good conduct, if I would take them on board again. Being convinced that I could not get those I wanted without those I did not want, I determined to prosecute my voyage, even with such reduced numbers; and, weighing anchor, we recommenced our arduous and hazardous duty of beating to windward.

We stood out to sea, with a good whole-sail breeze from northeast, till four o'clock in the morning of the 5th, when we tacked. The wind and sea having increased very considerably, reduced us to our double reefs; and, on coming in with the land, we found we had gained several miles. But with so much wind and sea as there then was, we could not advance any on our course, and we determined to find an anchorage. This we succeeded in doing by running a little to leeward; and at noon, anchored in a deep bay not more than five or six miles from the place where we had landed our men. On coming to anchor we discharged a cannon, to notify our men, that there was yet time to dissolve their partnership.

Here, for a moderate compensation, I again engaged a Chinaman to fill up our water-casks, and replenish our stock of wood. In the afternoon, I visited one of the large China junks, near to which we had anchored; where I was treated with great politeness by a person, whom, from his dress and appearance, I took to be the owner. He offered us tea and sweatmeats in the great cabin, which was extremely neat and clean, and in which a Joss occupied a conspicuous place. I invited him to go on board my vessel, to which he very readily assented; and, as he seemed to possess an inquiring mind, I pointed out to him our superiority of manner over his, of taking up the anchor, hoisting the sails, &c., of which he seemed to be convinced; and, after taking some refreshment, he left us, apparently much pleased with his visit.

The gale continuing the next day, it would have been useless to put out; we therefore lay at anchor all day. About noon, observing a great concourse of people on the beach, from which we lay half a mile distant, with the help of my glass I perceived that our men were among them; and that they were getting into a boat. I then prepared to keep them off, in case they should attempt to come on board by force. When they were within hail, I desired them to keep off. They replied, that the Mandarin would not let them remain on shore, and were advancing; when, on firing a musket over them, they immediately retreated to the shore. The Mandarin, with his numerous attendants, then came off, leaving our mutineers on shore. I invited these on board, and treated them with wine and sweatmeets; but would not comply with the pressing desire of the Mandarin, to take all our men on board again. I believe I succeeded in making him understand that four of the six I should be willing to take again, but that the other two I would not.

After remaining an hour on board and examining every thing with much earnestness and attention, they returned to the shore. At the same time, and with the usual precaution, I went near the beach, in my boat, and, calling each of the persons separately, by name, inquired if he was ready to go on board on my conditions. They declared they would not separate; but complained of the cruelty and hardship of being left in such a place. This was the last interview I had with them; for, soon after returning on board, I saw them marched away, escorted by the guard which attended the Mandarin. On our return to Canton, we learned that these six men had been sent there by the Chinese authorities, and delivered to the English company's residents.

The next morning, having a favorable current and a good breeze, we put out, and beat till the tide began to make against us; when we gained an anchorage near a small fishing town, where we lay the remainder of the day, and all the following night. Early on the morning of the 7th, we had a moderate breeze from north-northwest, by means of which we made a course nearly parallel with the China coast, till noon. The breeze then left us, and having a contrary current, we let run the graplin, in twenty fathoms; and lay till five P. M., when there came a light breeze from the southeast, to which we set all sail.

In the course of the afternoon, during the calm, a large boat came towards us, full of men, shouting and hallooing, and occasionally firing a gun they had in the bow. Their conduct was so very different from that of any of the Chinese we had met with, that, suspecting they might be Ladrones, I ordered a four-pound shot fired over them; which produced an instantaneous retreat to the shore. Between ten and eleven o'clock, the wind continuing to be very light, we discovered a large boat rowing towards us, which I supposed to be the same. When at a short distance to windward they left off rowing and lay on their oars. Their manœuvres and number of men led me to be suspicious; and I therefore loaded two cannon and several muskets. They, however, probably from seeing we were not off our guard, returned towards the shore without molesting us.

With various winds and weather, we diligently pursued our course to the northward, till we got out of the influence of the monsoon; and on the 11th of February, had the satisfaction of seeing the north end of Formosa, bearing south, distant ten leagues. Thus, after thirty-one days of great toil, exposure, and anxiety, we had accomplished that part of our passage, which had been represented as an impossibility; and which, with a fair wind, might have been performed in three days.

On the 17th, we passed between the north end of the Island Lekeyo (which is nearly four hundred miles east of Formosa) and several small islands which lie to the north of it, with a gale of wind from the westward, and under the head of our squaresail, having previously split the topsail, and got the yards on deck. I had only a manuscript chart of the North Pacific, which, I was convinced, was not to be depended on, having already discovered two islands that were not laid down in it. And as the gale continued to blow with violence, till we had quite passed the coast of Japan, the nights, which were long, and exceedingly dark, were passed in sleepless anxiety, lest we should meet destruction from some island or rock, not laid down in my chart.

Our passage across the North Pacific proved clearly enough the misapplication of the term to that sea, as it was hardly possible for it to be less peaceful. The violence of the wind, generally obliged us to show but very little sail; and the sea was so boisterous, that there were but few days when we were not enveloped by it, so that the fire was repeatedly extinguished in the caboose. The men, who composed the watch on deck, never escaped a complete drenching; and had constant employment in carrying their clothes up the rigging to dry. The exposure and privations, though not sufficient to injure the health of the crew, were much greater than they had ever before experienced; and, as they imagined that the other passages were to be equally fatiguing, they formed the design, (of which I had notice,) of deserting, as soon as they could, after our arrival on the coast.

CHAPTER VI.

See the Coast of America. — Prepare Bulwarks. — Anchor at Norfolk Sound. — Discharge a Cannon. — Natives come to us. — Caution to them. — Their Appearance. — Purchase Skins. — Tribe. — An Accident. — Result. — Chatham Straits. — Ship Eliza. — Suspicious Conduct of the Natives. — An Alarm. — Steeken. — War Canoe. — A Present. — Request to stop the Rain. — A Deserter. — Recovered. — Game. — Anchor in a Cove. — Hostile Attitude of the Natives. — Leave them. — Ship Cheerful. — Dangerous Position of the Vessel. — Escape. — Repair the Damage. — Ships Hancock and Despatch, of Boston. — Skittigates. — Stratagem. — Howlings in the Night. — Sensibility of a Native. — Chiefs Kow, Coneyaw, and Eltargee.

Early in the morning of the 30th of March, we saw the usual indications of land, drift-wood, kelp, and gulls; and at ten o'clock perceived the snow-capped hills of the American coast, twelve leagues distant. We immediately set all hands to work in bending our cables and getting up a bulwark, which we had been preparing of hides sewed together. These were attached to stanchions of about six feet, and completely screened us from being seen by the natives, whom it was important to our safety to keep in ignorance of our numbers. Towards evening we anchored in a snug harbour at Norfolk Sound, in latitude 57° 10′ north. Here the smoothness of the water, the feeling of safety, and the silent tranquillity which reigned all round us, formed a striking contrast to the scenes with which we had been familiar since leaving Canton; and would have afforded positive enjoyment, had I possessed a crew on whose fidelity I could depend.

The following day was very clear and pleasant. At the first dawn of the morning we discharged a cannon to apprize any natives who might be near, of our arrival. We then loaded the cannon and a number of muskets and pistols, which were placed where they could be most readily laid hold of. The only accessible part of the vessel was the stern, and this was exclusively used, (while it was necessary to keep up the bulwark,) as the gangway. As it was over the stern that we meant to trade, I had mounted there two four-pound cannon; and on the tafferel a pair of blunderbusses on swivels, which were also loaded. Soon after the discharge of our cannon, several Indians came to us; and before dark some hundreds had arrived, who encamped on the beach near which the vessel was anchored. As we observed them to be loaded with skins, we supposed that we were the first who had arrived this season.

With a view to our own security, as well as convenience, I directed my interpreter to explain to the chiefs, and through them to the tribe, that after dark no canoe would be allowed to come near the vessel; and that if I perceived any one approaching, I should fire at it; that only three or four canoes must come at a time to trade, and that they must always appear under the stern, avoiding the sides of the vessel. With my own men I neglected no precaution to make escape impossible, but at the imminent risk of life. While at anchor they were divided into three watches. One of these I took charge of; and stationing them in such parts of the vessel that no movement could be made undiscovered, obliged them to strike the gong every half hour throughout the night, and to call out, from each end of the vessel and amidships, "All's well." This practice so amused the Indians, that they imitated it by striking a tin kettle, and repeating the words as near as they were able.

But a more hideous set of beings, in the form of men and women, I had never before seen. The fantastic manner in which many of the faces of the men were painted, was probably intended to give them a ferocious appearance; and some groups looked really as if they had escaped from the dominions of Satan himself. One had a perpendicular line dividing the two sides of the face; one side of which was painted red, the other, black; with the hair daubed with grease and red ochre, and filled with the white down of birds. Another had the face divided with a horizontal line in the middle, and painted black and white. The visage of a third was painted in checkers, &c. Most of them had little mirrors; before the acquisition of which, they must have been dependent on each other for those correct touches of the pencil which are so much in vogue; and which daily require more time than the toilet of a Parisian belle.

The women made, if possible, a still more frightful appearance. The ornament of wood which they wear to extend an incision made beneath the under lip, so distorts the face as to take from it almost the resemblance to the human; yet the privilege of wearing this ornament is not extended to the female slaves, who are prisoners taken in war. Hence, it would seem, that distinctive badges have their origin in the most rude state of society. It is difficult, however, for the imagination to conceive of more disgusting and filthy beings than these patrician dames.

It was quite noon before we could agree upon the rate of barter; but when once arranged with one of the chiefs, and the exchange made, they all hurried to dispose of their skins at the same rate; and before night we had purchased upwards of a hundred, at the rate of two yards of blue broadcloth each. The Indians assured us, that a vessel with three masts had been there, a month before, from which they had received four yards of cloth for a skin; but this story was rendered improbable by the number they had on hand; and I considered it as a manœuvre to raise the price. As soon as it became dark they retired in an orderly manner to their encampment, abreast the vessel; and some of them appeared to be on the watch all night, as we never proclaimed the hour on board without hearing a repetition of it on shore.

The following morning, (April 2d,) the natives came off soon after daylight, and began without hesitation to dispose of their furs to us, at the price fixed upon the day before; and such was their activity in trading that, by night, we had purchased of them more than two hundred sea otter skins; besides one hundred and twenty tails. Our barter consisted of blue cloth, great coats, blankets, Chinese trunks; with beads, China cash, and knives, as presents. Canoes were arriving occasionally throughout the day; so that at night, there was a very perceptible augmentation of their numbers.

Our linguist recognised them to be the Hoodsnahoo tribe, who had come thus early to the coast to get a supply of the spawn of certain fish, which constitutes their principal food in the spring of the year. As this tribe had attacked the cutter last year, alone, we thought it not improbable, that, now they were united with the Norfolk Sound tribe, they might determine to make another attempt. We therefore took every precaution against them.

On the 3d, we were proceeding harmoniously and prosperously in our traffic, when a little incident occurred, which produced a short interruption. A canoe, containing eleven persons, men, women, and children, had, contrary to our regulations, come along side, and were raising the screens at the ports to look in on the deck. Before I had time to speak to them, the cook (either by accident or design) threw a ladle full of hot water over them, which, causing an involuntary and sudden motion of their bodies to the other side of the boat, immediately upset it, and all were immersed in the water. The confusion was now very great ; as those, who, at the time, were under the stern engaged in traffic, fearing some treachery, made haste to paddle away, without regard to the distress of their comrades. All of these appeared, however, to be capable of taking care of themselves, excepting an infant of about a year old, whose struggles being observed by Mr. Smith, he jumped overboard and saved it. As the weather was very raw and chilly, we hastened to dry and warm the infant by the fire, then wrapped it in a blanket, gave it a piece of sugar, and returned it to its parents, who appeared to be exceedingly pleased and grateful. They all soon recovered from the inconvenience of the accident, as I was glad to find they considered it. The apprehensions of the others being but momentary, we proceeded again to business, which was conducted throughout the day to mutual satisfaction.

Having observed, on the 4th and 5th, that their store of furs was nearly exhausted, we weighed anchor the next morning, and, parting on good terms with the natives, steered up a narrow passage, in an easterly direction, till we arrived in that extensive sound, which Vancouver has called Chatham's Straits. Nearly opposite to the opening into this sound is the village of Hoodsnahoo, the tribe we had just parted with ; and here we came to anchor. Several women came off, and told us there were no skins in the village ; that the men were gone in pursuit of them ; and that, if we came there again in twice ten days, they should have plenty. Here we passed a day in filling up our empty water-casks and getting a supply of wood.

In the afternoon of the 9th, we put out of the snug cove in which we were lying, having been informed by the Indians, that there was a ship in sight. This we found to be true, as, on opening the sound, we saw her not more than a mile distant from us. Soon after, we were boarded by Captain Rowan, of ship Eliza, of Boston, who had arrived on the coast at least a month before us, and who, having been very successful, was now on his way to the southward to complete his cargo, and then to leave the coast. He mentioned, that ten vessels would probably be despatched from Boston for the coast this season.

From this information it was evident, that it would require all our efforts to dispose of our articles of traffic advantageously, before the competition should reduce their value. For the Indians are sufficiently cunning to derive all possible advantage from competition, and will go from one vessel to another, and back again, with assertions of offers made to them, which have no foundation in truth, and showing themselves to be as well versed in the tricks of trade as the greatest adepts.

After taking leave of Captain Rowan, we were proceeding along the western shore of the sound, with a light breeze, when we fell in with a canoe, from which we obtained four skins, but were obliged to pay more for them than for any others we had bought. This was in consequence of their knowing what Captain Rowan had been paying, which, he informed me, was twice as much as I had given. We now were influenced very much by the course of the wind, in our determination of going up and down the sound, and into its various ramifications, always directing our course to any point where we discovered a smoke, and remaining no longer than to purchase what skins the natives possessed. On the morning of the 13th, having passed up the eastern branch of the sound, we came to anchor near to a high isolated rock. A space on the top of this was enclosed with a *chevaux de frise*; and on the side towards us it was inaccessible. We perceived many people moving about within the enclosure; and soon after coming to anchor, several canoes came off to us, and, among them, one large war canoe with twenty-five warriors, with their war garments on, and well armed. This had been but a short time near us, before the Indians in her gave a loud shout, and paddled towards the shore, at the same time discharging their muskets in the air, and saying their enemy was in sight. But, as the other canoes with which we were trading did not leave us, nor evince any fear, I could not help suspecting some stratagem, and therefore made preparation, and kept every man on the alert.

Scarcely half an hour had elapsed after the war canoe left us, when we again saw her coming, accompanied by two others of equal size, and equally well manned and armed. Three canoes were under our stern trading; and their hurried and earnest manner was evidently designed to divert our attention from those which were approaching. But as soon as they were within hail, we desired them to come no nearer, on penalty of being fired at. They then pulled leisurely towards the shore. Whilst this was transacting, our linguist, in selling a musket, had carelessly laid a cartridge of powder by him, which took fire and scorched him considerably. The blaze alarmed the Indians, who, as if conscious of intended mischief on their part, suspected it on ours, as they immediately seized and levelled their muskets at us. Without reflecting how useless was the exposure, I involuntarily seized and pointed a blunderbuss at them, while, in a moment, George, ever on the alert, was at my side with his musket cocked and ready to fire; but, fortunately, those who managed the paddles exerted themselves to get out of our reach, and so soon increased the distance between us, that no gun was discharged on either side.

After their fears were a little abated, we called to some natives in a small canoe, and explained to them the cause of the alarm, and desired them to tell their friends, that, if they would come off in the small canoes, and without arms, we would trade with them. In consequence of this invitation, several came off unarmed; and while they were engaged in disposing of their furs, we kept a lookout after their comrades. By the aid of our glass we perceived, that they were putting their arms into the small canoes, and embarking as many men as each would carry. When within hail, they were cautioned to come no nearer ; but they persisted in advancing, till they saw that we were pointing a cannon at them. They then returned to the shore, and appeared to have abandoned their design, though a considerable armed body of them kept on the shore abreast of the vessel, occasionally firing their muskets, all day. The circumstance of their women not being with them, and also that of their having very few skins, tended to confirm me in the belief, that their intentions were mischievous. But, whatever may have been their design, we parted with them, as we had done with other tribes, on friendly terms.

On the 15th, while steering, as we supposed, for the village of Steeken, we came across a canoe belonging to that tribe, from which we obtained directions for finding it ; but, as the wind was light, and a current against us, we were unable to reach it before dark, and anchored about two miles off. During the night there was a considerable fall of snow. In the morning we weighed anchor, and, about an hour after, dropped it again abreast the village. Several canoes came off, and sold us, in the course of the day, sixty skins, several cotsacks (or cloaks of fur), and fifty-six tails. On leaving us, at dark, they promised to return the next day with more skins, and moreover told us, that if we would remain five or six days, several great chiefs would arrive with their families, and bring plenty of skins.

Unexpectedly, one of these very great chiefs arrived the next day in a canoe quite as long as my vessel, and ornamented with a rudely carved figure of a warrior on the prow, the head of which was decorated with real hair, filled with a mixture of grease and red ochre, and the white down of birds. The chief was a dignified, good-looking man of about forty-five. He was accompanied by twenty-two athletic young men, who appeared to handle their paddles with a gracefulness and dexterity, as much excelling the management of the ordinary canoes, as the oarsmen of a man-of-war's barge surpass those of a merchantman. This chief was very desirous to come on board; but to have indulged him would have been an imprudent exposure of the smallness of our numbers. He then expressed a wish to have a cannon discharged; and we readily fired two in immediate succession, which appeared to astonish and gratify him, and on the subject of which much conversation was held with his men; but it was only partially understood by my linguist as expressing admiration of the report. After this, the chief stood up and made a speech, evincing his pleasure, and at the same time handing up three fine skins as presents. An Indian's gift is understood here, as elsewhere, to be made with the expectation of a generous return; and I gave to the chief great coats, cloth, knives, beads, and China cash, to more than their value. He drank half a tumbler of wine with great relish, and then blew into the air a quantity of the down of birds in token of friendship. As they left us to go ashore, they all began a song, whose wildness was in perfect keeping with their appearance, and to which they kept the most exact time with their paddles.

The days of the 18th and 19th were rainy and unpleasant. We continued at anchor, and were visited by a number of Indians with skins; but they did not trade with much spirit. The rainy, chilly weather seemed to have checked their animation; and they would sit, crouched up in their canoes, looking at us for hours together, without altering their position, while it rained without cessation. At length we observed a very old chief earnestly engaged to get his canoe nearer to us; as I supposed to sell his furs and be off. But not so; his object was to persuade me to cause the rain to cease; and, as an inducement, he assured me, they would bring a great many skins. As there was no appearance of fair weather, I told him I could not do so that day, but might possibly the next. It happened that the next day was fair; but I saw nothing more of the chief.

We sailed from this place on perceiving that we had exhausted their store of skins; and, in passing to and fro in the multitude of the ramifications of this extensive inland navigation, we met many straggling canoes, and seldom any one that had not some skins to dispose of. In this way we had a great advantage over a large vessel; and, by running into various creeks, where, probably, no vessel had ever been before, our collection of a few at a time amounted to a very considerable number.

On the 1st of May we anchored near a place favorable for replenishing our wood and water; and, while busily engaged in this business, one of my Irish sailors, eluding the vigilance of the officer who was with the party, made his escape. As he was on an island of no great extent, and could procure nothing to subsist upon, there was no doubt he would endeavour to get on board the first canoe he might see. Therefore, as soon as our business was accomplished, we proceeded to the village, about four miles to leeward, and immediately despatched two canoes after him, promising a reward of a musket to the one that should bring him. The canoes no sooner came in sight, than, having no suspicion that they were in pursuit of him, he called to them, and one of them readily took him on board; but, instead of bringing him to us, put him ashore at their village. The next day it was evident, that they had no intention of returning him, as they made various excuses; such as, "he was too strong for them;" "the women would not allow him to be sent on board;" and "he had gone away to a distant place." It then became necessary to convince them that I was in earnest; and, hauling my cutter near to the village, I threatened them destruction with my great guns if they delayed to bring off the man; and, firing a four-pound shot over them, it made such a cracking among the trees, that they were too much frightened to hesitate any longer. The man was brought on board; and I paid the promised reward, charging the value to the account of the delinquent. On investigation it appeared, that he and another lad had, some time past, determined on escaping in our boat, but had never found an opportunity. Had they succeeded, as we had only one boat, the loss of it would have been very distressing to us.

For the several succeeding days we did not anchor, but kept under way, and approached the shore wherever there was a smoke, or where we had before met the natives. During this time we came across many canoes, some of which were looking for a vessel to trade with; and of such stragglers we bought many skins. Others reported that they had fallen in with two ships, to which they had disposed of all, and were then on their way to look for more. Among them was an old chief, and a number of men and women of his tribe, whom we remembered to have seen at Norfolk Sound. They had now their faces blacked, and their hair cut short, which, they told us, was in mourning for a friend that had lately been killed.

As we approached the northern part of the sound, the wild fowl became more abundant; and scarce a day passed, that we did not kill a number of geese, turkeys, and ducks. The latter were so numerous, as often to darken the horizon in the direction in which they rose; and at one time I fired a canister of musket balls from a four-pounder at them, and killed six. Of fish, also, particularly salmon and halibut, we had always an abundant supply, both catching them ourselves, and procuring them from the natives. But our potatoes were consumed, and no vegetable could be had as a substitute. It was yet too early in the season for wild berries; and the natives had not reached that first point of civilization, which is indicated by an attention to the cultivation of the earth.

The Indians, who had last left us, perceiving we were going further north, advised us to be on our guard against the Chilcat tribe, whose village we were approaching, and whom they represented as being very numerous, very warlike, and very mischievous. On the 6th of May we had arrived at the northern extremity of Chatham's Straits, near the Chilcat tribe; and, having a strong wind from the south, we found a harbour in a neighbouring cove, and came to anchor within a cable's length of the shore, being in latitude 59° 30′ north. Here, sheltered from the violence of the south wind, we lay in smooth water; but, owing to the boisterous state of the weather outside, only two canoes came to us this day.

The wind, having subsided during the night, was succeeded by a calm. This being favorable for the canoes, they arrived in surprising numbers. We had witnessed nothing to be compared with it since our arrival on the coast. Coming in divisions of four or five each, by ten o'clock twenty-six were assembled in the cove, some of which were as long as my vessel, and carrying from twelve to twenty-eight persons each, making an aggregate of about five hundred men, all well armed with muskets, spears, and daggers. They were unaccompanied by their women and children, and had but few skins, which was a certain indication, that their intentions were of a hostile character.

It will be perceived, that our situation was now one of great danger. The calm continuing, rendered it impossible for us to retreat; and it was obvious, that if they attacked us with resolution, their great superiority of numbers would enable them to overwhelm us, before the guns could be reloaded, after the first discharge. Our only alternative, then, was to make the best preparation in our power for repelling an attack, and to sell our lives as dearly as possible; for our men were all convinced, that death was greatly to be preferred to falling alive into the hands of these barbarians. Accordingly, our cannon were all loaded with bags of musket balls. Our small arms, two muskets and two pistols for each man, were also loaded; and our pikes placed at hand.

The Indians passed most of the day in their canoes, keeping at about a cable's length distant from our vessel, continually endeavouring to persuade us to let them approach, by the assurance of having a great many skins. Our own men, at the same time, with lighted matches, were all day at the guns, pointing at them as they altered their positions ; while our linguist was calling to them not to advance, on pain of destruction from the great guns. In this hostile attitude each party remained all day. In the forenoon we observed two large canoes to go away, which, returning before night, we supposed might have been sent for reinforcements. The day had been a long and anxious one ; and when night came, we were rejoiced to see them go on shore, haul up their canoes, and build their fires. They remained quiet during the night, excepting mocking our watch, as each half hour was called out. Early next morning, there sprang up a breeze from the northward, when we got under way, and proceeded out of the cove, the Indians begging us to remain another day, and promising us a great many skins. We had scarcely got into the broad part of the sound, before we met two war canoes, each containing twenty-six men, well armed, who were on their way to join the others ; and for whose arrival the attack had probably been delayed. Of these I purchased four skins in passing ; and they were exceedingly anxious we should return and anchor again, assuring us of a great many skins. On perceiving their persuasions to be of no avail, they showed evident demonstrations of great disappointment.

But I discovered afterwards, on falling in with the English ship Cheerful, Captain Beck, that they were instigated to attack us by a greater stimulus than their cupidity, namely, a desire for revenge. It appeared, from Captain Beck's account, that his ship had run aground on a sand bank, near where we had anchored, about a month before ; that while carrying out an anchor the natives were seen approaching in great numbers, and, he had no doubt, with hostile intentions. He therefore called his men on board, and prepared for resistance. As they advanced towards him, he cautioned them to come no nearer; but, disregarding the warning, and still approaching, he fired over them. This not producing the desired effect of intimidating them, he reluctantly fired among them, and supposes he killed and wounded several, as there were great cries heard, great confusion in the fleet, and an instantaneous retreat. Captain Beck had left Macao in September, but had been little more than a month on the coast, and had not met with good success.

After leaving the Chilcat tribe, as above mentioned, we steered southward, till we reached that branch of the sound which runs in an easterly direction. It was deemed advisable to sail up this branch, and round those islands which are called, by Vancouver, Admiralty, Macartney's, and Duke of York's Islands, visiting the several tribes who inhabit their shores, and purchasing all the furs they had collected. For, having at this time, 19th of May, nearly expended our articles of barter to great advantage, it was requisite that we should make preparation for leaving the coast, by getting a supply of wood, and filling up our water-casks.

The next day, while steering to the westward with this intention, and going at the rate of about two knots, unsuspicious of danger, the vessel suddenly struck a sunken ledge, and stopped. Perceiving that she hung abaft the midships, and that there were three and a half fathoms under the bows, we immediately run all the guns forward, and carried out an anchor ahead; but the tide ebbed so rapidly, that our efforts to heave her off were ineffectual. We therefore heeled her on the side, whence she would be less likely to roll over. At low water the position of the vessel was such as to afford but feeble expectation that she could escape bilging. She hung by about four feet amidships, having slid about as much on the rock as the tide fell, and brought up with the end of the bowsprit against the bottom. Her keel formed an angle of forty-five degrees with the water line, the after part of it being from fourteen to fifteen feet above the rock. This position, combined with a rank heel to starboard, rendered it impossible to stand on deck. We therefore put a number of loaded muskets into the boat, and prepared for such resistance, in case of being attacked, as could be made by fifteen men, crowded into a sixteen feet boat.

Our situation was now one of the most painful anxiety, no less from the immediate prospect of losing our vessel, and the rich cargo we had collected with so much toil, than from the apprehension of being discovered in this defenceless state by some one of the hostile tribes by which we were surrounded. A canoe of the largest class, with thirty warriors, well armed, had left us not more than half an hour before we struck, who were now prevented from seeing us by having passed round an island. Should the vessel bilge there existed scarcely any other chance for the preservation of our lives, than the precarious one of falling in with some ship. That she would bilge there was no reason to doubt, if the weather varied in any degree from that perfect calm which then prevailed. More than ten hours were passed in this agonizing state of suspense, watching the horizon to discover if any savages were approaching, — the heavens, if there were a cloud that might chance to ruffle the smooth surface of the water, — the vessel, whose occasional cracking seemed to warn us of destruction ; and, when the tide began to flow, impatiently observing its apparently sluggish advance, while I involuntarily consulted my watch, the hands of which seemed to have forgotten to move. In this painful interval, I beguiled some little time, while seated in the boat, by taking a sketch of the hazardous situation of my cutter, at low water, fearing that it might soon be beyond my power to give such evidence of her sad fate.

At length, the water having flowed over the coamings of the hatches, which had been caulked down in anticipation of this event, without any indication of the vessel's lifting, I was deliberating on the propriety of cutting away the mast, when we perceived her to be rising. She soon after righted so much, that we could go on board ; and at half past twelve in the night we had the indescribable pleasure of seeing her afloat again, without having received any other apparent injury than the loss of a few sheets of copper.

To the perfect calm, smooth water, and uncommon strength of the vessel, may be attributed our escape from this truly perilous situation. On the 23d, being in a favorable place, and where there were no indications of natives in the immediate vicinity, we took the opportunity to lay the vessel ashore. The tide having left her, it was evident that there was no material injury. The keel was considerably brushed, from the effect of having slid, while on the rock. From the same cause, several sheets of copper were rolled up, and a few feet of the sheathing, under the copper, very much broken. All these were repaired as well as our time and means would permit ; and at high water we hauled off again.

We passed another week in cruising about the sound; but perceiving, that the stock of the natives in this quarter was so exhausted, that when we came across a canoe they had seldom any skins with them, it was deemed expedient to leave Chatham's Straits. We determined, therefore, to proceed to Norfolk Sound again, there pick up what we could by lying a day or two, and then go to Charlotte's Islands, previous to taking a final farewell of the coast. With this intention we steered westward. Arriving in the broad part of the sound, the course of which is north and south, and having the wind from the southward, we could make but little progress on our way. In the afternoon the south wind increased greatly, and caused such a sea as latterly we had been entirely unaccustomed to. As much fatigue and some risk would be incurred by attempting to pass the night in tacking to and fro in the sound, without a possibility, while the wind was so high and the sea so rough, of advancing at all on our way, it became very desirable to find a harbour; and a little before sunset, being near the eastern side of the sound, we perceived an opening of about a fourth of a mile, between two precipitous hills, clothed from the bottom to their summits with pine. The hills on each side forming the entrance were so decisively indicative of sufficient depth of water, that we ran boldly in, without taking the precaution of first sending the boat to reconnoitre. We were immediately becalmed on passing the entrance, and, using our sweeps, rowed but a third of a mile before we were in perfectly smooth water. The passage, having become narrower as we had advanced in it, rendered anchoring unnecessary; and we kept the vessel suspended, between the two shores, by ropes made fast to the trees.

Our position was quite romantic. The thick-wooded hills on either side seemed almost to unite at the top; the dark gloom overhanging all around; the silence and tranquillity which had so instantaneously succeeded the roar and turbulence of the sea without; and the comfort and security for the night of which we had a prospect, all combined to produce sensations of a most pleasing character. While musing on the scenery about us, and while it was yet twilight, I perceived a movement in the bushes, and in a moment a large bear made his appearance, probably attracted by the scent of the vessel. As the object of killing him did not appear to me to compensate the risk of the attempt, I refused permission to my men to go ashore for that purpose; but, as he seemed disposed to remain and make our acquaintance, I caused a four-pounder to be discharged at him. The piece was elevated too high; the ball went over him, making a great cracking among the bushes, and the reverberation of the report was long and loud. He did not wait for a second, but scampered off among the bushes, and we saw him no more.

The wind having come round to the northwestward during the night, we put out early in the morning of the 30th, and, steering southward, before night we had an unbounded ocean open to our view. This little variation to the scene was quite agreeable, as we had now been two months navigating inland, without having even a sight of the ocean, and having been at all times surrounded with lofty mountains, whose sides present an impenetrable forest of pine wood, and whose summits (at the north) are, most of the year, covered with ice and snow.

On the 1st of June, approaching Norfolk Sound, a ship was perceived going in before us, which proved to be the Hancock, of Boston, Captain Crocker, who had arrived on the coast in April. As we drew near to her after she had anchored, a considerable bustle was perceived on board, as if they were preparing for defence; which, I was afterwards amused to find, arose from our suspicious and uncouth appearance. This, to be sure, was rather unusual, from the circumstance of our beards, at this time, being four or five inches long; as, having found the operation of shaving to be difficult, where the motion of the vessel was so great, I had neglected it since leaving China, and my officers and men had followed my example; so that it must be admitted, we did present an appearance so little prepossessing, that it was very excusable for people whom we approached to be on their guard.

The following day arrived, and anchored near us, the ship Despatch of Boston, Captain Breck, which, as well as the other ship, had arrived on the coast rather too late to insure successful voyages the present season. While three vessels were lying together here, it was amusing to observe the adroitness and cunning with which the Indians derived all possible advantage from the competition. They had succeeded in raising the price of their skins so high, that there was a necessity, at last, of our entering into an agreement, respecting the price to be given, which ought to have been made at first; as not less requisite to profit, than to despatch.

Although nearly a week was passed here, yet the natives showed so little earnestness to dispose of their furs, that very few were purchased till the day before our departure, and when they had taken ample time to satisfy themselves they were obtaining the highest price. The whole number of skins purchased during this time, by the three vessels, did not exceed together more than two hundred and fifty, and for these we paid more than twice as much as for those which were obtained here on my arrival.

Leaving this place on the 7th, and pursuing a course to the southward, we fell in, a week after, with the ship Ulysses, of Boston, Captain Lamb. This ship had arrived on the coast a month before us ; but the success which ought to have resulted from so early an arrival, was defeated by a mutiny of long and ruinous duration. Thus it appears that no less than three ships had arrived on the coast before us, and that to accident, not less than to industry and perseverance, were we indebted for our great success.

A long continued southerly wind so retarded our passage to Charlotte's Islands, that we did not reach the Skittigates, (the largest tribe of these islands,) till the 20th, having found it advisable to make a harbour on the way, where we lay three days, and were screened from the effects of a southeast gale. In the mean time, our men were employed in replenishing our stock of wood and water. When near to the Skittigates, it being calm and the current running out, we anchored about two miles north of their village. As this was a numerous and warlike tribe, whose intercourse with foreigners had been great, and to whose hostility and treachery some of them had fallen victims, there was a necessity for the observance of all that vigilance on our part, to guard against surprise, which we had been in the practice of observing. One of this tribe, in order to decoy men ashore, covered himself in a bear's skin, and came out of the border of the woods, on all fours, abreast the ship, while a party lay in ambush ready to fire on those who should come in pursuit. The stratagem would have succeeded, had not one of the natives been too earnest to come forward, so as to be discovered in time for the boat to retreat, before any mischief had occurred.

Soon after anchoring, a canoe came to us from which we procured three skins. The Indians in this canoe assured us that there were plenty of skins at the village, and manifested a desire that we should go there. In the morning of the 21st, several canoes came to us with some of the inferior chiefs. They were very urgent in their entreaties for us to go up to the village, alleging that it was so far for them to come, that many would be deterred by it from bringing their skins. Their solicitations, however, were of no avail, as I had no doubt, that those who had skins to dispose of would not be prevented from coming to us by the distance, and that we should avoid the visits of the mischievous and idle, by remaining at our present anchorage. By nine o'clock, we had many canoes assembled about us; but they appeared to be so indifferent about trading, that it was past noon before they began; yet, such was their alacrity when they did begin, that by dark they had sold us upwards of one hundred skins, and one hundred and thirty tails. The succeeding day was squally and unpleasant, and we had a smaller number of the natives about us. We purchased, however, eighty-five skins, and as many tails. Towards evening a canoe came to us, with the son of the chief of the Skittigates on board, who told us, that, if we would remain another day, his father would come to us, and bring a great many skins. In the night, which was perfectly calm, we heard frequent and wild howlings at the village, and occasionally the report of a musket.

The morning of the 23d was calm, and a favorable current for the Indians to come to us; but, having waited till near noon without seeing a single canoe moving, we were at a loss to conjecture the reason, more especially after the promise of the king's son, last evening. In case, however, of their bringing many skins, as they promised, we had not the means of purchasing them, our articles of barter being nearly expended. It was therefore judged best not to wait to ascertain the cause of such extraordinary conduct; and, having a light breeze from the south, we put out with the intention of going over to the Coneyaws.

The next day, when about two leagues south of Point Rose, the breeze not being sufficient to enable us to stem the current, we came to anchor. Soon afterwards, two large canoes came to us, in one of which was a young, good-looking warrior, the son-in-law of Coneyaw, who is head chief of the Tytantes tribe, and who, with other warriors, had come over on a hostile expedition against Cummashaw's tribe. Being so nearly on the point of leaving the coast, and therefore fearing no bad consequences from an exposure of our weakness, I acceded to the earnest solicitations of this young warrior to come on board. This was the only one of the natives whom we had admitted on board since being on the coast. We invited him into the cabin, and gave him a glass of wine, which pleased him so much, that he soon asked for another. Having made me a present of a very fine skin, I made a return of a shirt, jacket, and pantaloons, which he immediately put on, and appeared to be well satisfied with the figure he made, and much pleased with the dress. But the friendly feelings I had inspired suffered a momentary interruption, by my careless and apparently rude manner of giving him a handkerchief. Being on the opposite side of the cabin from that on which I was sitting, I threw it into his lap, when, instead of taking, he allowed it to roll down on the floor, his feelings so much wounded that he actually shed tears; nor was it without considerable effort, that we persuaded him that no insult was intended, by assuring him that it arose from my ignorance of the etiquette which custom had established among them. This little interruption to our harmony was of short duration, the party aggrieved being satisfied with my apology; and having purchased of him and his comrades about sixty skins, we parted with mutual good-will and friendship.

It was now time to make the necessary preparation for leaving the coast, by filling up our water-casks, and procuring sufficient wood for the passage to China. With this intention we directed our course for Tatiskee cove, where, having anchored, we set about cutting wood with all diligence, and also procuring our supply of water. This work being accomplished, we were ready for our departure on the 26th; but the wind was from the south, and the weather rainy and boisterous. It was therefore decidedly most advantageous for us to lie quietly in the snug port where we were anchored, and wait for a fair wind and the return of good weather before putting to sea.

The wind having changed to the westward during the night, on the morning of the 27th of June we weighed anchor for the last time on the coast, and put to sea, intending to reconnoitre North Island before bidding farewell to the coast. But, owing to a contrary current, it was late in the afternoon before we passed the southern point of Kiganny; previous to which we were boarded by the celebrated chief Kow, a man whose intelligence and honest demeanor recommended him to all who had any dealings with him. He had always been in the habit of coming on board the Cutter on her former voyages, and had never failed to receive the most generous and friendly treatment from Captain Lay, her former master, whom he was much disappointed in not finding on board. For the few skins he had we paid him liberally; and he left us much satisfied.

The following day, at noon, we had arrived opposite and near to the village on North Island. A number of canoes soon came off, in one of which was the chief Coneyaw, and in another Eltargee. The latter had, a year or two ago, accidentally, it was said, caused the death of a Captain Newberry, by the discharge of a pistol, which he did not know was loaded. His looks, however, were so much against him, and, in the short intercourse we had with him, his actions and manner so corresponded with his looks, that I should require the clearest evidence to be satisfied that the disaster was purely the effect of accident.

CHAPTER VII.

Sail for Sandwich Islands. — Satisfaction. — Owhyhee. — Provisions and Fruit. — Natives. — Mowee. — Proceed Westward. — Tinian. — Anchor in the Typa. — Ship Ontario. — Reflections caused by her Loss. — Proceed to Wampoa and Canton. — Take a Factory. — Contract for the Cargo. — Causes operating to discourage a Return to the Coast. — Sell the Cutter. — Sail for Calcutta. — Malacca. — Pulo Pinang. — Procure a Pilot. — Arrive at Calcutta.

I PURCHASED the few skins offered me, amounting to thirty-two, while under sail; and now, having no other object to detain us longer on the coast, we, at four P. M., bade farewell to the natives. With a fine breeze from west-northwest, I steered to the southwest, not less happy in the successful accomplishment of my object, than in the reflection of its having been attained without injury to the natives, or other than the most friendly interchange of commodities with them. Indeed, now that I was fairly at sea, and free from the chance of those casualties to which I had so long been subjected, the relief from anxiety, the comparative feeling of security, the satisfaction arising from a thorough performance of duty, and from the independence to which it led in this instance, can be more easily imagined than described. Nor was this pleasure in any degree diminished by the task, which yet remained, of proceeding to China; as this was a passage, for the most part, through the trade winds, where the weather was fine and the sea smooth, and where, consequently, one great cause of the dissatisfaction of my men would be removed.

During our passage to the Sandwich Islands no incident occurred to vary the monotony of the voyage. We had none other than a fair wind ; indeed the gales were so propitious, that we had sight of Owhyhee the twentieth day after taking our departure from the coast of America. At three, P. M. of the 19th of July, the snow-capped summit of that island was seen above the clouds, at a distance of at least twenty-five leagues off, and bearing southwest by west. Standing in boldly for the shore all night, we were, at dawn, within about a mile of it, and saw several beautiful runs of water falling in cascades over perpendicular precipices into the sea. We perceived, also, a mustering among the natives to come off to us. The sea, however, was so rough, that only two or three attempted it, and having bought of these a few melons and cabbages, we proceeded to leeward, towards Toiyahyah Bay, in the hope of finding smoother water. This was discovered as soon as we doubled round Kohollo Point, when a multitude of canoes came off to us, bringing a great supply of hogs, potatoes, taro, cabbages, water and musk melons, sugar-cane, &c.

We admitted a chief on board, who, while he kept the natives in order, and guarded us against having too many on board at a time, served us also as a broker, and very much facilitated our purchases. He remained on board all night, and was equally serviceable to us the next day, when, by noon, having a sufficient supply of every thing which the island afforded, we dismissed our broker with satisfactory presents, and pursued our course to the westward.

The very limited intercourse we had with the natives of this island was hardly sufficient to enable us to form a correct judgment of their general character. The contrast, which their cleanliness forms with the filthy appearance of the natives of the Northwest Coast, will not fail to attract the attention of the most unobserving. Nor have they less advantage over their Northwest neighbours in the size, shape, and gracefulness of their persons, and in the open, laughing, generous, and animated expression of their countenances. The characteristics of these islanders are activity, gayety, volatility, and irritability; those of the Northwest Indians, heaviness, melancholy, austerity, ferocity, and treachery. They are, perhaps, in each case, such as would naturally be inferred to be the effect of climate operating on the materials of rude and savage characters.

The expertness of these islanders in the art of swimming has been remarked by the earliest navigators; and Meares mentions some divers, who, in attempting to recover an anchor he had lost, remained under water during the space of five minutes. Whether there are any such at the present day, is very doubtful; although it must be confessed, I saw no evidence that would induce the belief of their talent being in any degree diminished.

On the 21st we saw the island Mowee, bearing north by east, about twelve leagues distant. Our course to the westward was attended with the weather which is usual in the trade-winds, in general fine, though sometimes interrupted by a squall, which serves to rouse the sailor from the inactivity which a long course of such weather is apt to produce. With a moderate and even sea rolling after, and helping us on our course, and with a great abundance and variety of such products of the vegetable world as we had long been destitute of, we were living so luxuriously, and sailing along so much at our ease, so entirely free from any thing like labor or fatigue, that our men appeared to consider it as an ample compensation for the fatigue and exposure of the first part of the voyage.

On the 15th of August, 1799, we passed between the islands Aguigan and Tinian, and very near to the latter; but, as it was after dark when we were nearest it, we had not an opportunity of seeing those beauties, which are so pleasingly described by the narrator of Lord Anson's voyage, as well as by more recent navigators. In our passage between these and the Bashi Islands, we had so great a portion of westerly winds, that we did not reach the latter till the 8th of September, having, during that period, experienced much rainy, squally, and disagreeable weather. We passed the Bashi Islands in the night, with a moderate breeze from east-south-east; and the following night we were among tide-rips, which caused such a roar, and so great an agitation of the water, as to resemble breakers.

On the 13th, we saw the east end of the Grand Lema, and, at three o'clock next morning, sailed between its western end and the island next to it; and, passing the island of Lantao at dawn, we came to anchor in the Typa at eleven o'clock, A. M. I immediately went ashore and made report to the Governor, engaged a pilot to come on board in the morning, and spent an hour with an American resident supercargo, who gave me much European and other news.

From this gentleman I learned, that the ship Ontario, with her cargo, had been totally lost a few days after leaving Canton for New York. This was the ship in which I had been so eager to embark. I had come very near having my desire gratified, and had been severely disappointed when I found that the place I wished was filled by another. If I had succeeded, ruin must have been the consequence. My emotions on hearing this news, were of a mingled character; while I mourned over the fate of a worthy friend, I was filled with gratitude at my own escape, and my present prosperity; the feelings of discontent in which I had sometimes indulged were rebuked; I was taught to bear disappointments with patience and resignation, as we cannot foresee the good which may result from them; and I was inspired with that confidence in a superintending Providence, which affords repose to the spirit under all the trials of life.

In conformity with his engagement, the pilot came on board in the morning as soon as the tide served, when, having weighed anchor, we beat out of the Typa and passed Macao roads with a moderate breeze at southeast, which continued so light throughout the day that we did not reach Anson's bay till nearly midnight. Here we anchored till the tide became favorable, when, proceeding to Wampoa, we arrived there and anchored above the fleet in the night of the 15th.

Having, the next day, taken a boat for Canton, I accepted the hospitality of one of my countrymen till I could procure a factory. In the mean time, I gave letters to several China merchants, directed to my officer on board, to permit the bearers of them to examine the cargo. I engaged the factory No. 1, Nuequas Hong, and as soon as it was furnished moved into it. On the 25th of September, having had various offers for the cargo, and the best being that of Nuequa, I contracted with him for it at the rate of twenty-three dollars a skin, cash; or twenty-six dollars to be paid in produce, or any proportion at these rates.

This contract being made, and the payment to be prompt on delivery of the cargo, it became necessary to determine, without delay, what course it was most advisable to pursue next. The cutter, independently of the objection of size, being a foreign bottom, could not take a cargo to the United States without being subjected to the payment of such increased duties as would be equal to the amount of the freight of an American bottom. To return again to the Northwest Coast offered a prospect as promising as any plan which presented itself to my mind, and could I have obtained an orderly crew, might have been the most advisable. But to undertake another voyage with a crew composed of such men as I had, (and none beside deserters from other ships could be procured,) was little better than living for such time with a knife at my throat; which, at any unguarded moment, might be made to close the scene. The small size of the vessel was another important objection; as, besides the privations inseparable from navigating in it, there was an increased danger from the hostility of the savages. And as, in consequence, a greater number of men was required than could be well lodged and provisioned for so long a time, this tended to create among them dissatisfaction, sullenness, and finally mutiny. Besides this, my inclination for such uncommon exposure and fatigue, was diminished in proportion to the recent increase of my fortune.

From these considerations,—and not entirely uninfluenced by a desire of visiting the capital of British India, I made an arrangement to this effect, by disposing of the Cutter to Robert Berry, Esq., and a cargo of teas and other articles of his selection, to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars, making together twenty-one thousand dollars; for which I took a respondentia bond with a premium about equal to the risk, and interest, payable three months after my arrival at Calcutta. In addition to this, I took with me gold bars to the amount of three thousand dollars.

In the mean time, while coming to this decision, my cargo had been transported to Canton and delivered to the purchaser; my crew had been paid off, and a new one shipped of less than half the numbers of the former voyage. The Cutter again became the Dragon; hoisted English colors, and had an English master appointed to her, because by our treaty with Great Britain it was not permitted us to bring a cargo from China to Calcutta in an American vessel.

The cargo for account of Mr. B. having been shipped, and having made an agreement with him to ship to my friends in the United States, as opportunities for freighting offered, the remainder of the proceeds of my cargo of furs, I proceeded to Wampoa on the 20th October, 1799; where finding all things ready, I embarked as passenger, and the next day weighed anchor and run down between first and second bar; where we received our sea stock from the Hoppoo man; and when the tide made in our favor took advantage of it as far as Anson's Bay, where arriving at dark and having appearances of bad weather, we came to anchor. Towards the latter part of the night, the wind became more easterly and increased with rain; and at daylight it blew with a degree of violence which amounted to a Typhon, and which it seemed as if nothing but the hills were capable of resisting. Here, our good fortune was again manifest; for if we had been ready only twelve hours sooner, we must have encountered this gale in a position that would have rendered our chance of escaping shipwreck very small. As it was, while riding in a smooth bay, the wind blowing off the shore, from which we lay not more than a cable's length, we parted our cable, and brought up with our best bower, with which we rode out the gale in safety. The 23d the gale abated, but it continued all day very rainy, squally, disagreeable weather; we therefore lay at anchor, and employed some Chinamen to get the anchor from which the cable had parted, in which they succeeded without much difficulty, brought it to us, and received their reward. The wind generally southeast.

The next day the wind was light and baffling; but in the night came round to the northward, with clear weather; and on the 25th we passed Macao roads, where we saw two large English ships, one of which had lost all her topmasts, doubtless in the late gale. We passed near to, and spoke the ship Eliza, Rowan, who had been to the Spanish coast since we had seen him. With a strong breeze from east-northeast, we steered to the southwest, and, at dawning of the 28th, were near to the China coast, having passed in sight of Pulo Campella. In the course of the following night, we passed near to Pulo Canton, and then steered south-southeast. The coast was in sight most of the day, and a strong current in our favor, as was manifest from the circumstance of making one hundred ninety-three miles difference of latitude. We saw the high land abreast Pulo

Cecir, on the 31st, and also the Island Pulo Cecir de mar, and, at the same time, were on the bank of Holland, apparently in no very deep water. The next day we were prevented seeing Pulo Condor by reason of a hazy atmosphere.

On the 3d day of November the weather was very squally, and wind variable. In the night sounded several times in thirty and twenty-five fathoms, and, at dawning, saw Pulo Timoan. We entered the straits between point Romania and Piedra Blanca on the 5th; after which, steered west by south for St. John's Island, and, having passed it, we took the wind from west-southwest, and beat through the narrows between the Rabbit and Coney and Red Island. We continued to work to the westward, with the wind for the most part from that quarter, and occasionally anchoring when the current was against us.

While at anchor, close in with the shore, between mount Formosa and mount Moora, we saw a fleet of eleven Malay proas pass by to the eastward, from whose view we supposed ourselves to have been screened by the trees and bushes near to which we were lying. On perceiving so great a number of large proas sailing together, we had scarcely a doubt of their being pirates, and therefore immediately loaded our guns and prepared for defence; though conscious that the fearful odds in numbers between our crew of ten men and theirs, which probably exceeded a hundred to each vessel, left us scarce a ray of hope of successful resistance. We watched their progress, therefore, with that intense interest which men may naturally be supposed to feel, whose fortune, liberty, and life, were dependent on the mere chance of their passing by without seeing us. To our great joy, they did so; and when the sails of the last of the fleet were no longer discernible from deck, and we realized the certainty of escape, our feelings of relief were in proportion to the danger which had threatened us.

Arriving at Malacca on the 11th, the curiosity of the people was greatly excited to know how we had escaped the fleet of pirates which had been seen from the town; as the strait to the eastward is so narrow that it appeared to them to be impossible for us to pass without seeing each other; and when informed of our being screened by the trees from their sight, they offered us their hearty and reiterated congratulations.

Having the next day filled up our water-casks, and laid in a supply of vegetables and fruit sufficient for our consumption till our arrival at Calcutta, we should without further delay have proceeded on our voyage, had the prospect been favorable; but the westerly winds continued to blow with such violence for several days immediately succeeding our arrival, that it was evidently the part of wisdom to lay at anchor till their force had abated, which was not the case till the 14th, when there was less wind throughout the day. In the evening the land breeze came off strong, and, being all ready to take advantage of it, we weighed anchor, made sail, and stood to the westward on a wind all night; and, at dawning, tacked to the northward and came in with the land about three miles east of Cape Ricardo.

The town of Malacca is situated in a level country near the sea, and is defended by works built on a rocky foundation, and of great height. It was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1640, and remained in their possession till taken from them in the late war by the English, who held it at the time I was there. Its inhabitants are composed of Dutch, Portuguese, English, Chinese, and Malays. The trade of this place was very much diminished in consequence, principally, of the increasing growth of the English settlement at Pulo Pinang. The revenue arising from imports and exports, was this year, (1799,) farmed to some Chinese residents for fifty-two thousand dollars. There are several very pretty country-seats about three miles from the town; and the country generally abounds with the cocoa-nut tree. But its latitude, only two degrees north of the equator, deters all Europeans from making it their residence, excepting those who are willing to sacrifice comfort to the acquisition of wealth.

While proceeding on our passage to the westward we were frequently obliged to anchor in deep water; and on the night of the 15th, while lying in twenty-four fathoms, a squall came with such violence as to part our cable, and caused the loss of our anchor; a circumstance the more to be regretted as we had but one more, and had yet a prospect before us of frequent anchoring. On the 19th and 20th the Island of Pulo Pinang was in sight, the wind light from northwest. As the winds during the daytime were very light and variable, we made but slow progress in getting to the north, and even this only by keeping close in with the shore, and taking advantage of the land breeze, which came off regularly, and generally in squalls of rain, thunder, and lightning. In the five days between the 22d and 27th, we had made only three degrees difference of latitude, having passed, in the time, near a great many islands.

On the 3d December we saw Diamond Island, after passing which we had the regular northeast monsoon. The two succeeding days we were in sight of the island Cheduba, and the coast of Ava. Being now in latitude 19° north, we steered to the northwest with the wind free, and on the 10th anchored in fifteen fathoms near the sand heads, it being calm. The next morning at daylight a number of vessels were near us, from one of which we procured a pilot, who informed us, that the large ships then near to us were the Lord Hawkesbury and a Portuguese ship bound in, the latter of which had had an engagement, and beaten off a French privateer of eighteen guns the day before, and that the Company's cruiser Nonsuch, had gone in pursuit of her. Another fortunate escape; as, arriving one day earlier, we should have fallen into the hands of this privateer, and, being under English colors, the property would have been a total loss. In the night we came to anchor near the shipping in Saugur roads; the next day we got as far as Cudjeree; the day following to Fulta; and on the 13th of December, 1799, arrived safely at Calcutta.

CHAPTER VIII.

Captain Lay. — Take a House. — Servants. — George pressed. — Application for his Release to Town Major and to the Chief of Police. — Unsuccessful. — To Lord Mornington. — George restored — His Gratitude. — American Commerce. — Buy a Boat. — Danish Flag. — Deer Hunt by Tigers. — Observations on Calcutta. — Sail for Isle of France. — Culpu. — Danger in passing the Barabulla. — Arrival at Isle of France.

HERE I met again my worthy friend Captain Lay, of whom I bought the Cutter, and of whose kind hospitality Captain Hassell and myself availed ourselves till we could procure and prepare a house. For a hotel, or a public boarding-house, was a thing unknown in this country.

Having ascertained from the consignee of the Cutter, that the cargo being of dull sale, there was no prospect of his being able to pay the amount of the respondentia bond before the expiration of the time specified therein, it was obvious that I had a detention of three months before me, unless I should find it advantageous to lay in an investment for the United States, and could make an arrangement for its payment when the bond became due. I therefore sought a house distant from the business part of the town, and where the rent would be proportionally low. Such a one I found in the Bow Bazaar, had it furnished in the most economical style, and took possession on the 15th of December. The multitude of servants, which custom required for the establishment of those even, who were desirous of living in the most frugal manner, was alarming. Mine, including palanquin-bearers, cooks, stewards, and waiters, amounted to eight, exclusive of my black man, George; a number that seems to be enough to ruin a man of small fortune, till it is considered how very small is their pay, and how little their food costs compared with ours.

Being thus established, and my mind made up for a state of inactivity for the next three months, I was the better able to enjoy the relaxation from the sense of its being unavoidable. I rambled about the town in the morning before the heat became oppressive; books afforded a resource during the day; and towards evening I was taken in my palanquin to the river's side, where, alighting, I walked on the Esplanade to Fort William, and was charmed with the music of a fine military band, which played there every evening. In this way, with little variation, the first ten days of my residence in Calcutta were passed. Nor had I any idea, that the remainder of my term there would not slide away in the same even course. For I did not conceive, that there was a chance of my coming in collision with any one, much less with the municipal authorities of the place.

But from this state of quiet I was one day roused by the entrance of one of the messengers of the police office, who informed me, that a black man, who said he was in my service, had been taken up as a sailor, and that I must appear directly at the office, and state my claim to him, or he would be sent on board ship. Instead of attending this summons in person, I sent, by the same messenger, a note, stating that the black man in question was my servant, and begged he might be released forthwith. This proceeding was probably considered to be disrespectful, as it was of no avail. George's absence continuing, I went in the afternoon in pursuit, and found, on inquiry, that he had been put into the custody of the town major, who resided in Fort William, in order to be sent, with others who had been pressed, on board an Indiaman lying in the river below. It was evening before I could find this officer, whom I begged to suspend sending George with the others till I could see the magistrate and obtain his release. But he told me his orders were peremptory, and that he should be obliged to send him away as soon as the tide was favorable, to be put on board the Sir Stephen Lushington.

I now almost despaired of ever again seeing my trusty man, whose fidelity had been so thoroughly proved, and for whose situation I felt the greatest sympathy, not unmingled with remorse at not having gone to the office in person to claim him. So entirely did this subject absorb my mind, that I was dreaming of it all night. The next day, being Christmas, the police office was closed. I therefore went, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, to the dwelling of the magistrate, who, I was informed, had just gone out to call on the Captain of the Indiaman, on board which George had been sent. I hastened to the house where they were, and was introduced by a servant in livery into a spacious apartment, where were the two gentlemen, apparently on the point of going to church.

His Worship was a portly, good-looking man, of about sixty, dressed in a full suit of black, with a powdered wig. On my entering the room, both gentlemen rose and advanced towards me, when, addressing myself to the Justice with the humility of a person who is going to ask a very great favor of a man so very great, that he had only to nod and it is granted, I made known my business. He replied by inquiring, in a tone which indicated a sense of the advantage he had over me, why I had not appeared at the office, when sent for, to claim the man. I told him, that, being engaged at the time, I supposed my certificate would have been sufficient to insure his release. "No," he said, "it was not," and added, in a tone and manner which was any thing but respectful, "the fellow whom you call your servant I believe to be a good sailor; as such I have sent him on board ship, and shall give no directions for his emancipation."

Indignant at such treatment, I replied in a tone of which he had set the example, "Such proceeding, Sir, is very extraordinary. I doubt its being sanctioned by Lord Mornington. And why cannot you take me, and send me on board ship, with the same propriety you do my servant?" Such a question, in such a tone, from so young a man, and one whose demeanor had been so meek, was evidently unexpected, and seemed to rouse the wrath of his Worship to the highest pitch. His face became like scarlet. He seized hold of his newly-powdered wig, and pulled it over one ear, made a complete revolution on his heel, and, with fire flashing in his eyes, stamped on the floor, and in a stentorian voice demanded, "And who are you, Sir?" (At this time I observed, that the other gentleman, not being able to suppress his laughter, had turned away.) I replied, "I am an American citizen, Sir, and one who is not unacquainted with what is due to that character." "Well, where do you live, Sir,

— your name, — your address ?" taking out his paper and pencil, and writing in a hurried and agitated manner ; and then observed, "I shall send for you to-morrow, Sir." I told him I should not let the business rest till to-morrow, made my bow, and left him.

It was now very evident, that I must procure the interference of superior authority, or I might not only lose George, but be subjected to some annoyance myself. I therefore went home, and immediately set about writing a letter to the Governor-General. The facts I had to state were very simple and clear ; the oppression of which I had to complain I was satisfied could not be countenanced ; and I therefore felt a confidence in a happy result. As soon as my letter was written, I went with it myself to the palace, and delivered it to the Secretary of his Excellency, who, on ascertaining its contents, assured me, that immediate attention should be paid to it. Nor could there have been any delay in fulfilling this promise by sending the same night to the ship, which lay several miles below ; as, before ten o'clock next morning, George made his appearance at my house, accompanied by an orderly sergeant, who had been sent to conduct him to me.

As I heard nothing further from the magistrate, I concluded that he received a word of advice from high authority, by which others of my countrymen may have escaped a similar annoyance. Never was joy more clearly depicted in any countenance than in George's when he met me. He showed his white teeth, and making an effort to express his gratitude, exclaimed, "O massa, a tousand tanks, a tousand tanks, George be glad to sarve you he lifetime." This joy was indeed reciprocal ; for, if from no other cause, we had passed together through too many trying scenes not to have excited in me the greatest sympathy for his detention, and no less pleasure at his release.

The commerce of the United States with Calcutta at that period was very different from what it is at present. During the three months of my residence there, no less than twelve ships were laden with the produce and manufactures of Hindostan for the United States, whose cargoes would average about two hundred thousand dollars each. This demand for manufactures, for which the purchasers preferred to pay an increased price rather than to keep their ships waiting, had a tendency, in the course of two months, to raise the prices twenty per cent, and entirely discouraged my thinking of an investment for the United States. Nor could I reconcile to myself a longer period of inactivity than that limited by the receipt of the amount of the respondentia bond, especially as the sultry and unhealthy season was advancing.

While in doubt what course to pursue, the Isle of France was suggested, among other plans, as offering a fair field for speculation. The great success of the privateers from that place led to the inference, that prize ships and prize goods would be procurable there at very low rates. And as the Danes, at this time, were the only European neutrals, a cargo could be transported from thence to Tranquebar, under the Danish flag, in safety, and with great profit. But, how to get to the Isle of France? this was a difficulty of no trifling magnitude. There was no vessel going in which I could take passage. To purchase one to go to a place where I supposed them to be so abundant and cheap, would be "carrying coals to Newcastle"; besides which it would have been difficult, in a vessel of moderate size, to escape the vigilance of the Bengal government, who were decidedly hostile to all intercourse with the Isle of France.

I determined, therefore, to procure a boat of a size so diminutive as to elude observation, and, at the same time, of so little value, that much could not be lost on a resale. Such a one I found at Calcutta, nearly finished, of about twenty-five tons, which I soon made a bargain for, to be completed immediately, to be rigged as a pilot boat, with mainsail, foresail, and jib ; to be coppered to the bends, and to be delivered, as soon as possible, at the Danish settlement of Serampore ; for which I engaged to pay five thousand rupees. The contract being in due time fulfilled by the delivery of the vessel at Serampore, I there got her put under the Danish flag ; and a cargo of oil, wax, ghie, &c. purchased to the amount of five thousand rupees, of sufficient weight only to put her in good ballast trim. As the Americans, at this time, had a kind of pseudo war with the French, it was advisable to neglect no precaution in guarding against embarrassments that might arise on this account ; and I therefore became a burgher of the Danish settlement of Serampore.

While these transactions were in progress, the time had come round for the payment of the bond ; the amount of which was forthcoming at the moment. I had now passed three months in the city of Calcutta, having made during the time no other excursion than one to Serampore, and another to the botanic garden. The former makes a very pleasing appearance along the margin of the river. To the extent of nearly a mile, well-built houses, neatly white-washed, give it the appearance of being larger than it really is as the town is of very limited extent back from the river. The botanic garden is pleasantly situated on a bend of the Hoogly called Garden reach, but it was not neatly kept. No temperature can be more delightful than that of Calcutta during the months of December, January, and February. It is very dry and healthful; and the nights I found to be invariably cool and comfortable, though there is always a necessity for the use of mosquito curtains.

During my residence at Culcutta, I witnessed an amusement which, I believe, is peculiar to India, the chase of deer by tigers. The arena occupied a space of more than a hundred acres, the borders of which were lined with mounted dragoons to guard against mischief from the tigers. The tigers had a blind of leather over their eyes, were led by a string held by their black keepers, and appeared to be under perfect control. Th eyhad belonged to Tippoo Saib, and were much smaller than the royal tiger. While one of them was held by his keeper at one end of the field, the deer was let loose in the centre. At this moment, the blind being removed from the eyes of the tiger, he darted forward with inconceivable velocity; and although the deer put forth all his strength to escape, the tiger had caught him before he had reached the other extremity of the field. It was a cruel sport; and I did not wait to see a repetition, or how the tigers were again brought under control.

But the English resident of Calcutta seems to think less of the amusements which are peculiar to Europe, than of indulging himself in the utmost refinement of luxury, which the combined ingenuity of European and Asiatic epicures can invent. The multitude of servants, which custom seems to have rendered necessary to the man of fortune, and to which he becomes familiarized by habit, commonly unfits him for a residence in Europe afterwards. His durvan, peons, circars, chubdars, harcareahs, huccabadar, jemmadar, and consumas, form a list of obsequious beings, each, at the master's nod, ready to perform the duty peculiar to his office with a cheerfulness and alacrity, such as a despot does not always receive from his slave. He is dressed and undressed, washed, shaved, and combed, without any effort of his own, and precisely as if he were incapable of any exertion.

The dinner hour is usually after sunset; and convivial parties seldom retire before midnight. Over the dinner table is hung an immense fan, extending the whole length of the table; and this being put in motion by strings attached to it, pulled by servants in adjoining rooms, there is always a breeze to counteract the effect of hot soups and meats in a hot climate. There is a great variety of fruits peculiar to the climate, of fine quality and very abundant and cheap.

At the period of my residence in Calcutta there were no buildings, public or private, which would be remarked by a stranger for their architectural beauty or magnificence, or as conforming to the generally received idea of the splendor of the British capitol of India. But any defect in this respect was amply compensated for by the magnitude, the strength, the beauty, and extraordinary neatness of Fort William. The complete and elegant finish which has been given to it affords proof of the command of ample means. The cost is said to have been two millions sterling. Of this fort, and the fine military band which played every evening, I retain the most lively and pleasing recollections; and not less so, of the civility of several officers of the garrison. Very few evenings passed that I was not present, and never failed to be equally delighted with the order, discipline, extreme neatness, and soldier-like appearance of the troops, as well as the performers, and with those sweet sounds, which seemed to remain vibrating on the ear long after they had in reality ceased.

The horrid tragedy of the Black hole of Calcutta has given to it such dreadful notoriety as will make the event familiar to ages yet unborn. Over the spot on which it occurred is erected an obelisk, which already gives indications, that it is not long destined to perpetuate the sad story for which it was erected.

The black town, as it is called from being exclusively inhabited by natives, extends to the north of the other. The buildings are composed of very frail materials, mud walls, mats, and bamboos; and the streets being narrow, conflagrations are frequent and extensive. The natives of Hindostan are remarked for an amiability of disposition, an evenness of temper, and habits of regularity and docility, which render them invaluable as domestics, and I have been assured they are not less remarkable for their fidelity and honesty. But the most striking feature in the character of these people is their veneration for the customs and institutions of their ancestors. Their food, their dress, their processions, and marriages, are all under the jurisdiction of religion. It prescribes rules of conduct under all circumstances, and there is scarcely any thing, however trifling, which it treats with indifference. Many of the native merchants possess large fortunes, and some of them have apartments fitted up in the European style, and live at a corresponding expense.

On the 18th of March I saw my boat pass by Calcutta, which, in conformity with previous arrangements, was to wait for me above Fulta. As no notice was taken of her by the English authorities when she passed, I felt secure from any interruption from that quarter. The next day, with the balance of my funds in bills and gold mohurs, I proceeded in a native boat, accompanied by my man George, to join the vessel. In conformity with an understanding with the ostensible owner, I found her manned with a Danish captain and mate and four lascar seamen; and myself and servant embarked in the quality of passengers. Soon after joining the vessel, as the tide was favorable, we proceeded on our course and came to anchor at Fulta, in order to purchase a supply of fowls, &c., but found their stock to have been exhausted by sales made to vessels which had preceded us.

The next night we had very heavy squalls from the westward, accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and were compelled by their violence to let go a second anchor. The succeeding day the weather became pleasant, but, the wind being against us, we turned down with the ebb as far as Culpee, where we anchored for the night, and the next morning went ashore and purchased a stock of ducks, fowls, fruit, &c., sufficient for the passage. The next ebb carried us to Cudgeree, where, in consequence of a gale from the south, we lay at anchor the two succeeding days; nor, with so much wind, could we have proceeded if we had desired, as, in the hurry for despatch, the sail-maker had neglected to put in any greemmits for reefing; and all on board who could handle a needle were set about this business.

On the 25th the weather became settled, and when we had arrived opposite Ingerby, the black pilot, who had conducted the vessel from Serampore, left us, having previously given us directions how to steer. The tide was now strong and running with a velocity which is peculiar to this river, when we suddenly and unexpectedly found ourselves in only seven feet water, having, as we supposed, mistaken the direction of the pilot and taken the wrong side of the buoy on the little Barabulla. We had scarcely time to reflect on the consequences of touching, before we had passed over the shoal and were again in deep water. When the tide had ceased to be favorable we anchored, and again pursued our course when it set out, and, in the evening of the 28th, we anchored in Balasore roads, and lay becalmed during the night.

Early the following morning we hauled up our anchor, and, with a brisk breeze from south-southwest, stood out on a wind to the southeast. While passing out of the Bay of Bengal, we had very variable winds, and generally good weather; nor, indeed, had we any occurrence during the passage worthy of remark. The boat, which was named the Maria, was quite as uncomfortable as I had anticipated, and this, not so much from its contracted size, as from the scorching effects of the sun, which was most of the passage nearly vertical, and from the rain; for our only retreat was of a kind that would not be considered by every one the least of the two evils. In this confined state we passed forty-five days before we arrived at the Isle of France, on the 14th of May.

CHAPTER IX.

Good Fortune. — Visit the Governor. — His Civility. — William Shaler. — Dinner at the Governor's. — Sell the Vessel and Cargo. — Isle of Bourbon. — St. Dennis. — St. Paul's. — Rivière d'Aborde. — Mr. Nairac. — Dinner Party. — Pass near the Volcano. — St. Benoit. — Return to St. Dennis. — Return to Isle of France. — Death of the Governor. — Honors to his Memory. — Entry of a Hamburgh Ship. — Cut out by English Boats. — Purchase Coffee. — Confiance and Kent. — Mode of Capture. — Bravery and Generosity of Surcouffe. — Brig Traveller. — A Duel. — Kent sold. — Freight her. — Naturaliste and Geographe.

It was fortunate for us, that we escaped those gales, which are very common to windward of the Isle of France during the hurricane months, and which could scarcely have failed to put us and our speculations at rest together. The attempting such a passage in such a vessel was certainly imprudent. It was not so much owing to ignorance of the risk, as to that impatience, which would not permit ordinary difficulties to interfere with, or obstruct the pursuit of, a favorite object.

If the vessel, in which I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, created surprise in the inhabitants, this, of little more than half the size, could not fail to excite the curiosity and wonder of the people of the Isle of France. Consequently, a great crowd assembled on the quay to see a vessel approaching it, which, unlike all others that entered the port, did not anchor, but was conducted by the pilot directly to the landing for boats. Exclamations of astonishment were interchanged by those collected near the boat, when it was understood by them where we were from. Some remarked on the hazard of such an undertaking; others on the apparent absence of all comfort; and others were earnest to know if we had experienced any bad weather, and expressing a belief, that we could not have survived one of those gales which are common in this vicinity at this season of the year.

While accompanying the linguist to the Governor's and the Intendant's, the multitude walked up near us; and, as no one suspected that I understood the French language, I heard such remarks as, "This gentleman has nothing like a Dane in his appearance." "No," was the reply, "he looks like a Cheechee"; and in truth, I had become so burnt by such long and great exposure, that it was not surprising I should be taken for a native of India. Then the object of my voyage was discussed. One remarked, that he thought I must have other views than those which appeared in the disposal of so trifling a cargo. Perhaps I was in pursuit of prize ships. "Then mine would suit his purpose," was the reply. Such were some of the observations and conjectures which I heard while on my way to the Governor's, and which were proofs of the same inquisitiveness, activity, and energy, which I had observed in this people in a residence of six months among them, more than six years before.

On being introduced to the Governor (General Malartie), he received me with that urbanity which is a peculiar characteristic of the French, and which, banishing restraint, places a stranger at once on a footing of familiarity. When I had replied to his various questions relative to the news from India, and to the vessels I had seen on my passage, he remarked on the peculiarity of my enterprise ; how hazardous he considered it ; how out of proportion to the risk he considered any profit that could be made on such a cargo ; though, he remarked, it was much wanted. He hoped I should sell it well, and facetiously observed, that when report was made to him of the size of the vessel, he had sent orders to the Captain of the port to see that room sufficient was made to admit her entrance. On taking leave he invited me to dine with him the next day.

Having made a like visit of ceremony, but of less duration, to the Intendant, I was afterwards free to pursue my own course, and, in the first place, went to the residence of the consul of the United States, by whom I was assured, there would have been no hazard in coming in the character of a citizen of the United States, nor any in giving evidence that I was not a Dane by taking a room at his house. To this proposal I very readily acceded, and became an inmate with the only three Americans in the island, one of whom was William Shaler, author of "Sketches of Algiers," and for many years consul-general of the United States to the Barbary powers.

Notwithstanding that the Danish and the Hamburgh were the only neutral flags in port, (and of these there were but two of the first, and one of the latter,) yet the equipment of privateers, the sale and resale of prizes and their cargoes, and the occasional arrival of a slave-ship from Madagascar, kept up the bustle and appearance of business. Though the small value of the products of the island indicated, that this was not of the most beneficial and salutary description. From the earnestness of the brokers to purchase my cargo I had no doubt of making a handsome profit on it ; but before accepting any proposal I waited till the following morning, that a fair opportunity might be given to each of the competitors, when I closed with one of them at a rate, which gave me about a dollar for the rupee on the whole amount of the investment.

In conformity with my previous engagement I went, at two o'clock, to dine with the Governor, who was not less affable than at my first introduction. His intercourse with the young officers composing his staff, and who constituted the majority of the party, resembled rather that of a father with his children, than of a military chief with his subalterns. The dinner was served up in plain but handsome style, and consisted of a good variety of well-cooked dishes. There prevailed at table an ease and an entire freedom from restraint, which formed a striking contrast to the formality and ceremony I had recently had an opportunity of observing at English tables. The repast was of about two hours' duration, and finished with coffee and liqueurs, when each one unceremoniously withdrew.

The unlading and delivering my cargo was soon accomplished ; and a day or two after I had an application for my vessel from a person whose plantation was contiguous to some little river, for navigating which my boat was peculiarly adapted by her easy draft of water. On this part of my speculation I had not anticipated making any profit ; the main object being that of a passage, which could be obtained in no other way. But I found the gentleman willing to give three thousand five hundred dollars for my boat; and I closed with him at that price. Thus there appeared evidently to be a tide in my affairs, which was leading on to fortune; and I was deriving an advantage where I. had not anticipated it.

But a few days' residence satisfied me, that I had arrived too late to profit by the purchase of any of those vessels or cargoes which had previously been sent in. Some of them were already on their way to India under the Danish flag; and others had been purchased on speculation, for resale, by merchants of the place. From these I had several ships proposed to me, but at too high a rate to profit by taking them to India. There remained to me, therefore, no other alternative, than to be ready with my funds, and wait the arrival of some of those prizes, which, there was little doubt, would be sent in by some one of the numerous and well-appointed cruisers which had been despatched from this port.

A month having elapsed, and no opportunity presenting for investing my funds, I determined to make a short excursion to the Isle of Bourbon, (or Réunion, as it was then called,) and, on the 14th of June, took passage in the brig Creole, Captain Touissante, for St. Denis. During the twenty-four hours immediately succeeding our departure, we had a continued gale of wind, which compelled us to lie to under a reefed foresail, the sea running very high, and prevented our anchoring in the road of St. Denis before noon of the 16th. A letter of introduction to the most considerable merchant of the place procured me access to one of the most accomplished and pleasing families of the island, from whom, during my residence there, I experienced that polite attention and true hospitality, which are always the more grateful when, as in this instance, they are known to be purely disinterested.

After a few days' residence in this family, I crossed the mountain to the south, by a zig-zag path, accessible to horses, and soon arrived at the coffee plantation of Mr. Dumeste, to whom I had a letter, and whose hospitality had been made known to me by several of my countrymen, who had experienced it. This plantation is beautifully situated at a great elevation, commanding a view of the ocean with its boundless horizon in the west; and the greater part of the grounds, which the slaves are employed in cultivating, may be seen from the house. The coffee tree, this year, promised an abundant crop, and the harvest time would arrive in about six weeks.

Leaving this charming residence with the most favorable impressions of the kind feelings and amiable character of the owner, I proceeded to St. Paul's, which, in point of mercantile importance, is the second place in the island, the roadstead being generally smoother and preferable to that of St. Denis. The town is situated on part of a spacious, flat, and sandy tract, on the border of a large bay; and though it spreads over a considerable extent, as the houses are not contiguous, yet the population is very inconsiderable. Its value principally consists in being a place of embarkation for the produce of the neighbouring plantations. The surf on the beach, particularly on the full and change of the moon, is often so great as to render landing dangerous; and whenever this is the case a signal is made from a flag-staff, erected for the purpose, to notify the vessels which may be lying in the road.

From this port I took a water conveyance to the Rivière d'Aborde, and proceeded, on landing, to the plantation of Mr. Nairac, an old Irish resident, to whom I had a letter, and who received me with those hearty demonstrations of welcome which are peculiar to his countrymen. His long residence among the French had not so entirely obliterated the knowledge of his native language, as to prevent his conversing in it familiarly; though from long disuse of it there was often evidence of embarrassment in finding terms to express himself. Every thing about this plantation gave indication of the wealth of the proprietor. Such was its symmetry, its extreme neatness, and the beauty of its walks, that it had more the appearance of a garden designed for pleasure, than of a plantation intended for profit. The prospect, however, was limited in every direction, either by the mountains or the tall trees bordering on the premises; so that the resident was as much excluded from the view of the world, as from its noise and turbulence.

As this situation is distant from either of the ports where vessels usually anchor, the visit of a stranger is a rare event, and therefore proportionally appreciated. This was evinced by the direction given to have a fat ox killed, and by sending despatches, in various directions, with invitations to come on the morrow and partake of it. Accordingly, the next day about a dozen gentlemen assembled, who, for those qualifications which give life and spirit to a convivial party, maintained the reputation of their countrymen, and seemed to afford great pleasure to the host. Mr. Nairac had promised to give me, what I had never seen in a tropical climate, a piece of roast beef, equal in delicacy and flavor to any I had ever eaten in Europe or America; and this promise was fully redeemed, for it was of a quality which could not be surpassed, and which, till now, I had always supposed to be limited to the temperate regions. The natural hilarity and vivacity of the party needed no artificial stimulus. Consequently, although there was a great abundance and variety of the best wines, they were taken with such moderation as to evince, that no one of the party possessed the ridiculous pride of being considered able to swallow more than his neighbour. Early on the following morning we mounted our steeds, and, bidding farewell to our excellent host, began our ascent toward the summit of the Island. When we had reached its highest elevation, the cold was so great, that I found it advisable to dismount and walk, to warm my feet; and in the little hollows where the rain had lodged, it had frozen to the thickness of the eighth of an inch. We went over the route which is called "passing by the plain," and which also passes near to the crater of the volcano. Arriving at St. Benoit in the evening, we found a comfortable lodging at a private house; and, pursuing our course early in the morning, we travelled quickly over a good road, and late in the afternoon arrived in safety at my friend's house in St. Denis.

In this excursion I ascertained, that none of the products of the island could be purchased at the diminished rate which I had expected from the stagnant state of commerce. The reason was obvious; the general ability of every one to keep his produce when it is below its ordinary value; an ability produced by frugal habits, by limited wants, and an entire absence of those luxuries of furniture and equipage, which custom has rendered indispensable to the European and American, and for which they, in some instances, devote themselves to a life of toil and anxiety.

A speedy return to the Isle of France being now desirable, I embarked, on the 1st of July, in a Chasse-marée ; but, owing to unfavorable winds and bad management, we had the very long passage of ten days. It appeared, that, during my absence, no other prize had been sent in than the Alnomack of Baltimore, bound to Batavia with an assorted cargo. I had therefore lost no opportunity of prosecuting my plan by my absence.

A few days only had elapsed, however, after my return, when the Company's extra ship Armenia arrived, taken on her passage from London to Calcutta with a valuable cargo, by the Clarisse. This ship was of six hundred tons burden, Bengal built, and was on her first voyage. As I was confident, that there was no other person there at the time, who was prepared with the requisite documents and officers to take a ship to India, and was persuaded that no one would be willing to pay high with a view of a resale, I felt so certain of being the purchaser, that I took some preliminary steps to avoid any additional loss of time in taking possession. I expected to procure her at from eighteen to twenty thousand dollars ; but at the sale, contrary to the expectations of every one, and to the astonishment of those interested, she was run up to the enormous sum of twenty-seven thousand five hundred dollars. I was so little disposed to submit to the disappointment, that I very incautiously bid twenty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty dollars, and was rejoiced when relieved by the superior bid, which took her from me. This was a great disappointment to me ; but, upon sober reflection, my escape from paying too much to have a chance of profit reconciled me to it.

But a few days had elapsed, however, after the sale, when I was surprised by the inquiry of a broker, if I would take the ship at what I had bidden. On declining, he thought she might be obtained for something less. This awakened suspicions, which were the next day confirmed by the information, that the purchaser of the ship had a long credit on whatever he bought at the sale ; and, supposing I wanted the ship, and would be willing to pay him as high as I had offered at the sale, he contemplated the use of my money (which was then at very high interest) for the mere sacrifice of his additional bid. In a few weeks after, the ship was offered to me for several thousand dollars less than she brought at the sale ; but, having waited so long, I determined to have a cheap ship or none.

On the 28th of this month a general gloom was thrown over the town by the sudden death of their excellent Governor, General Malartie, after an illness of forty-eight hours. In a room in the government-house, hung with black, and with rows of lighted tapers on each side of the coffin, the body lay in state till the 30th, and then was interred with military honors, and every imaginable demonstration of respect. He had expressed a wish, that his funeral expenses might not exceed thirty dollars ; but so high a respect was entertained for his character and services, that there seemed to be a determination that no expense should be spared to evince it. The present place of interment, therefore, was only to serve till a magnificent tomb could be built on the Champ de Mars to receive his remains.

This being prepared by the latter part of the ensuing month, the body was taken from the church, and carried thither in procession with minute guns firing; and, having arrived at the sepulchre, a eulogy was pronounced to a numerous and attentive audience. A few days previous, the English blockading squadron had arrived, under command of Commodore Hotham. These, on the day of the funeral obsequies, as a mark of respect for the deceased general, came down from windward, and lay by, off the entrance of the harbour, with their colors hoisted half mast, and firing minute guns. Such a tribute of respect from an enemy is so magnanimous, that it cannot fail to be considered honorable to both parties; and while such acts meet the applause of the civilized world, they will also have their influence in diminishing the asperities and miseries of war.

A few days after giving this evidence of respect and courtesy, the squadron gave us an exhibition of character of a different kind. A Hamburgh ship had, during the night, got between the squadron and the land, and at daylight was discovered by them several miles to leeward, and near Round Island. All sail was made by the squadron in chase; and although they were fast approaching him, the Hamburgher persevered in pushing for the port, with a boldness and determination which greatly excited the sympathy of the multitudes, who were watching, with intense interest, the result. Before he had got quite up with the fort at the entrance of the port, the Lancaster, of sixty-four guns, passed so near to him (outside) that the balls from her broadside passed over and came ashore. Then the Adamant, of fifty guns, as near, fired her broadside with as little effect; and there being no time for repeating them, the ship got in safe, while the air resounded with the shouts and gratulations of the assembled multitude. It is difficult to conceive, how two such formidable broadsides could be directed, from so short a distance, against so large an object without destroying it; and that they produced no injury, seemed almost miraculous. The ship was immediately warped up, and moored near to the guard ship. But the English Commodore was determined not to be outdone in enterprise. And although his prospect of success seemed as hopeless as the escape of the Hamburgher had done in the morning, he sent in his boats about ten o'clock the same evening, of which we had notice by the roar of cannon from the guard ship and from the forts, and, in defiance of these, actually carried the ship off, while the crew supposed themselves to be in such perfect safety, that the broker was on board taking a list of the articles composing the cargo. It was said there were a few lives lost on this occasion.

The squadron had already intercepted a ship from France when near the island, and had also taken several of the Bourbon coasting vessels. There remained, therefore, but a feeble chance for any prize to succeed in entering the port. Under these circumstances, not late in the month of September, I decided to abandon the plan of returning to India. Money was in unusual demand, and coffee to be procured with it at an uncommonly low rate. Hence it was obvious, that, to invest the principal part of my capital in this article before the opening of the intercourse with America, or any other event should enhance the value of it, and to be prepared to freight it, by the first good opportunity, for Europe or the United States, was the most judicious course to pursue.

Acting on this determination, I had soon secured the quantity I desired, and on very advantageous terms. In the mean time, and early in the month of October, the English squadron went off without being relieved by another, to the great joy of the merchants in particular, and of the inhabitants generally, of the Isle of France. In their short cruise, and principally from the capture of coasting vessels, they had caused the ruin of some families and the distress of many.

The blockade had been raised but a day or two, when there arrived a national corvette, and also a Danish and a Hamburgh ship, all from Europe The general tenor of the news they brought was, that the war was prosecuted in Europe, by all parties, with its accustomed vigor ; and that there was an immediate expectation of an adjustment of difficulties between the French and American governments. This last was a " consummation devoutly to be wished " by the Americans here, not less on public than on private considerations. Nor was it less desired by the cultivators and owners of plantations, whose produce would be enhanced in value by an open intercourse with the United States, more than by all the neutrals of Europe combined. Hence, the planters never failed to regret the arrival of an American prize, from the fear, that each additional one would have a tendency to prolong hostilities.

In the course of the month of November, arrived the Confiance privateer, conducting her prize, the East India Company's ship Kent. The action, which resulted in the capture of this ship, will rank amongst the most chivalrous and gallant, which the naval annals of any country record, and which even Surcouffe would hardly have risked, had he been aware that his antagonist had more than the usual complement of men for a Company's ship. But, in addition to the ordinary number, of probably one hundred and fifty, were the troops and passengers, who were going out in the Queen, which was burnt at St. Salvador, and who amounted to about three hundred ; making together four hundred and fifty men. Their ship had a complete battery betwixt decks, of twenty-two or twenty-four twelve-pounders, and had the advantage of an elevation above the water double that of the privateer ; so that it might be supposed, that one man would successfully resist at least four assailants. The Confiance mounted twenty nine-pounders, and had, on sailing from the Isle of France, one hundred and eighty men. She had greatly the advantage of her opponent in sailing. The action being begun by the Kent, but few broadsides were exchanged, before the Confiance, luffing up under the quarter, and pouring in a broadside, boarded in the smoke with nearly the whole crew. The resistance on deck was not of long duration ; and when it ceased, a scene of plunder ensued, which is considered to be justified by the practices of war, when a place or ship is taken by storm, and which is promised to the men previous to the assault. Nor is it in the power of the commander, however he may be disposed, to arrest the progress of those irregularities, which are inseparable from such a state of confusion. Were it possible, there was no person in the world, who would have been more ready to do it than Captain Surcouffe, whom I knew to be not less deservedly distinguished for humanity and generosity, than for intrepidity and the most daring courage. The value of this prize to the captors was not very great, as she was laden principally with military stores. One of the privateers-men produced considerable mirth on the Exchange, by appearing there dressed in a suit of the English general's uniform, which he had taken the liberty to appropriate to his own particular use. But a few weeks had elapsed after the arrival of this prize, when the American brig Traveller, of Boston, with upwards of one hundred thousand dollars in specie on board, was sent in by the Adelle privateer. To prevent any influence which the captain, supercargo, or officers might have in averting condemnation, neither of them had been permitted to proceed in the brig. This we learned from the sailor who came in her.

Great efforts weremade, not less by the Consul of the United States, than by several respectable individuals of the place, for the release of this property, but ineffectually. The fact of there being such an amount of specie on board, and of its being much wanted, was of sufficient weight to bear down all opposition to its condemnation. These efforts, however, combined with the information recently received, that several of their privateers had been foiled, and much cut up, by American letters of marque, which they had met in the Bay of Bengal, tended greatly to promote a hostile feeling towards the Americans; in those, particularly, who were interested in privateers.

During the existence of these feelings a Boston newspaper was produced on 'Change, in which was inserted a list of those merchants of the Isle of France who were engaged in privateering; and some of whom were styled rogues, noted villains, &c. Among the latter was a very irascible, arrogant, and physically powerful man, who was an *armateur* and also a Captain of Dragoons. No sooner was he informed of the ungracious notice taken of him in this paper, than, incapable of suppressing his wrath, he gave vent to it in the most gross and abusive language, directed to a young Bostonian, who happened to be the only American on 'Change. The consequence was, a challenge. They met the next morning, and fought at only five paces distant; when the Captain of Dragoons received his adversary's ball, diagonally, in the arm, which laid him up for six weeks. The Bostonian escaped uninjured. We experienced, afterwards, in our intercourse with the inhabitants, nothing but the civility and politeness, which are proverbially French.

Some time in the month of December, the prize ship Kent was sold to a Dane for thirty thousand nine hundred dollars. Soon after which she was put up for freight for Europe; being called the Cronberg, and having transferred to her the papers of a ship of that name, of about three hundred tons burden. But, at this time, few persons were desirous of freighting to Europe; and all considered the risk too great by this vessel, both on account of the deficiency of the requisite papers, and of the proposal of the agent to take French property. More than a month had elapsed after this ship was prepared to receive a cargo, and none had been offered; while the daily expenses were rapidly consuming the means indispensable for putting her to sea. Under these circumstances, overtures were made to Mr. Shaler and myself to freight the ship exclusively, and with a particular agreement, that no French property, or passenger, should be taken on board. The terms were low in proportion to the risk; the accommodations for ourselves were spacious and tempting; the chance of the intercourse soon opening with America uncertain; and we had both become equally tired of a state of inactivity, and of our residence at the Isle of France. We therefore engaged to freight in this ship, and stipulated to sail in sixty days from the date of the contract.

During the remainder of this and the ensuing month, there were several arrivals from Europe, which caused a rise in the price of the produce of the island of fifteen to twenty per cent. A coasting brig from Bourbon, with fourteen hundred bags of coffee, was chased on shore by an English frigate, near to Little River; and the vessel and most of the cargo were lost. New animation and vigor were given to the society of the place by the young men attached to the two national ships, Naturaliste and Geographe, under the command of Monsieur Baudin, who had touched here on the route to New Holland and the Pacific ocean, on a voyage of discovery and scientific research. The ships, on their arrival, looked rather as if they were returning from circumnavigating the globe, than commencing an enterprise of several years' duration; and, as far as I could judge from a cursory observation, there was nothing connected with the expedition, that promised to add to the national glory, or to repay the expense of the equipment.

CHAPTER X.

Satisfaction at the Prospect of Departure. — Observations on the Isle of France. — Influence of the Jacobins. — A Hurricane. — Sail for Europe. — Speak an American Schooner. — Coast of Norway. — War between the English and Danes. — Arrive at Christiansand. — Leave the Ship, and proceed to Copenhagen. — Arrival there. — A profitable Voyage. — Sketch of Copenhagen. — Obelisk. — Fredericksburg Palace. — Rosenberg Palace. — Arrival of the Ship from Norway.

The period of my departure now drew near; and I looked forward to it with great impatience. Having reached the middle of March, ten months were completed since my arrival; a term rendered additionally tedious from the want of occupation. During this time no opportunity had presented of putting into execution the plan I had contemplated on leaving Calcutta; and, controlled by circumstances, I was now again about venturing every thing, without the possibility of covering any part of the risk by insurance. Should we arrive safe in Europe, my fortune would be much greater than I could reasonably have hoped to possess at the outset. If we should fail to do so, or should be intercepted by an English cruiser and condemned, still the property, which had been sent home from China, would amount to more than double of the original outfit from France. Thus, though the amount at hazard was greater, its loss would be attended with none of the distressing consequences, which would have resulted from the loss of the property in an earlier stage of the enterprise. These considerations greatly diminished the anxiety at having a large portion of my fortune at hazard, and reconciled me to taking the risk. Moreover, our ship was so large, and made so warlike an appearance, that there was but little chance that any cruiser less than a frigate would approach within reach of our guns.

It was agreed that we should avoid, if possible, speaking any vessel, and that we should pass a long way to the south of the Cape of Good Hope. We determined also to avoid seeing St. Helena or Ascension, or indeed any land from the time of losing sight of the Isle of Bourbon, till we should see the land about Fair Isle passage ; and before coming up with this, to make a long sweep to the westward, and approach this passage on an easterly course. With such precautions we considered the prospect to be tolerably fair, especially if the ship sailed as well as reported, of arriving in safety at our destined port.

Before noticing this passage, it is proper to say something of the Isle of France and its government and people. The very rugged, mountainous, and irregular appearance presented to the voyager on a first view of the Isle of France, would naturally cause him to believe that it could not be well adapted to agriculture. By a nearer view, however, he will be undeceived. The luxuriant valleys, which meet his view as he passes along to leeward between Round Island and the port, and the aromatic breezes, doubly agreeable to one who has been long at sea, will convince him that there is no deficiency of land which is prized by the agriculturist. And this opinion will be confirmed by visiting the productive cotton, coffee, and indigo plantations, and noticing, moreover, the prosperous cultivation of the clove, of wheat, and of Indian corn.

The secure harbour of Port Northwest gives to the island great commercial advantages over the more fertile, but, in this respect, less favored Isle of Bourbon; for the produce of the latter is principally transported to the Isle of France for embarkation for Europe, this being thought a smaller inconvenience than to load the ships in its open and dangerous roadsteads. The town formerly called Port Louis, and more recently Port Northwest, is situated on the eastern margin of the harbour; whence it extends back nearly a mile to the Champ de Mars, a spacious field, destined for the exercise and the review of troops. The view from the town is limited on the north and south by hills, on which are made the signals to denote the approach of vessels; on the east, by those very irregular mountains called Pieter-Both, the Ponce, and Piton du milieu de l'ile, which have an elevation from the sea of three to four hundred toises; and on the west by the ocean, and an uninterrupted horizon. The houses are, with very few exceptions, built of wood, in a neat, pretty style, and generally of one story. The public buildings are commodious and useful; but are not of a description to attract the observation of a stranger; excepting, perhaps, the government-house, which is spacious and airy, and is so situated as to command a fine view of the harbour and shipping. The streets are regular, of good breadth, generally clean, and many of them are ornamented with trees. The bazaar, or market for meat and vegetables, is on a large square, contiguous to the government-house. It affords but a scanty choice of eatables, and those not the best of their kinds; and also indicates great disregard of that cleanliness, which is particularly desirable and proper in a market-place. The number of inhabitants amounts to about thirteen thousand; two thirds of whom are slaves.

There was at this time a person at the Isle of France, whose name I have forgotten, who believed himself to be possessed of a power to discover objects at sea, several hundred miles farther off than any other person could see. He pretended to see vessels so distant to windward, that they would only arrive, according to his calculation, in three or four days; and as they often did arrive conformably, which, from the frequency of his predictions, was not surprising, he made many converts. If they failed to come, it did not prove that he had not seen them; but that they had passed by on their way to India. The man evinced that he was equally deluded with others, by afterwards putting this faculty to a fair test, through the means of the Imperial government. They sent him out in a frigate, and the next day sent another, with an understanding that they were to come within fifty or sixty miles, and then approach till they discovered each other. In the mean time, the man of long sight was on the look-out; but was unable to discover the other frigate at a greater distance than the generality of the crew; and consequently was obliged to take his station, in this respect, with other mortals.

The Governor, who had lately deceased, and for whose memory the inhabitants appeared to entertain the most profound respect, seemed to have been peculiarly fitted by temper, disposition, and judgment, for the very troublesome and difficult times, in which it was his destiny to act. A more despotic commander, one accustomed to the promptitude of military obedience, and strenuous to exact it, would inevitably have perished in the early period of those turbulent times, when liberty was understood to be the uncontrolled indulgence of every passion; and each day afforded some practical illustration of this belief. In these times of anarchy, General Malartie wisely yielded to the storm which he saw it would be destruction to resist; and, by an apparent acquiescence in measures which he disapproved, softened or ameliorated, as much as possible, those acts of the dominant party which he could not control, and which he saw would be injurious to the prosperity of the island. This dominant party were the Jacobins. Professing to be exclusively the true friends of liberty, they did not perceive the tyranny of persecuting and denouncing as traitors all those citizens, who dared to express opinions opposed to their own.

In close alliance, and amalgamated with these, were the *armateurs* and privateers-men; a numerous class, composed of dashing young adventurers, whose object was exclusively the acquirement of fortune, unrestrained by any law, moral or divine. Yet, these *jeunes gens*, as they were called, were guilty of no acts of cruelty that I saw or heard of; but, on the contrary, behaved, in many instances, towards those whom fortune had thrown into their power, with a generosity which was highly honorable to them. As an evidence of the influence which these *jeunes gens* possessed over the mind of the good old superannuated governor, they, for the mere purpose of securing as *good prize* a rich American vessel, which had been sent in by one of their privateers, induced him to commit the ridiculous act of formally declaring war against the United States.

As this declaration did not appear in any of the periodicals of the time, I infer, that it was not known beyond the limits of the island.

This opinion is, moreover, strengthened by its ceasing to be acted upon as soon as the object for which it was made was secured in due form. For, while this act was in full force, an American ship arrived from France, came in with the flag of the United States displayed, and was admitted to entry without a question of the propriety ; the cargo was disposed of, and, when the vessel was ready, a clearance was given for Bengal, with as little delay and molestation as if the public authorities were unacquainted with the hostile act in question. Hence it was apparent, that the government had no disposition to enforce the observance of an act which had been extorted from it ; and which could not fail to be prejudicial to the best interests of the island. At the same time it was not less apparent, that the party possessed so much energy and strength as to control the government whenever it was for their interest so to do ; while their respect for it was limited to the observance of unimportant forms. It is, therefore, less surprising that they should have committed some acts of injustice and folly, than that they should have been restrained by any bounds, which arrested their progress in the pursuit of fortune.

The preparations for expediting our ship had advanced so slowly, that the 20th of March had arrived before every thing was in readiness. A gale of wind, amounting almost to a hurricane, which caused the ship to bring home her anchors and almost drove her ashore, was one cause of embarrassment ; the difficulty of collecting the great number of men required for such a ship was another; while each additional day's delay added to the chance of the arrival of the blockading squadron, which would keep us shut up in port for the space of another month or two. This proportionally increased the anxiety of the captain of the Cronberg, whose expenses, if detained when so near the point of sailing, would be ruinous. On the 21st of March, therefore, as this dreaded interruption had not occurred, the winds and weather favoring our departure, and every thing being ready, we joined the ship, and were accompanied by many of our friends as far as the buoys. There, with demonstrations of sincere regard, and good wishes for a successful voyage, they left us and returned to the shore. On board all was bustle and alacrity in spreading that crowd of sail which was invited by the breeze, and which soon carried us out of sight of the island. To be once again on the bosom of old ocean, once more with a direct and definite object in view, after so long and tedious a detention at the Isle of France, excited the most lively feelings of satisfaction. To be sailing in so magnificent a ship, with no other care than to make myself comfortable, was entirely a novel situation to me. Nor could I help thinking of the contrast between the boat in which I came to the island, and the ship in which I was now leaving it. The one of twenty-five tons, the other of more than nine hundred tons; the one manned with four Lascars, the other with one hundred Europeans; the accommodations in one bearing some resemblance to a dog-kennel, those of the other, light, airy, and so spacious, that the room exclusively appropriated to my use, was of greater dimensions than the whole capacity of the first; the one very little exceeding in size the long-boat of the other ; but I need not enlarge on a difference which must be obvious to all, after stating the relative tonnage. In stateliness, and beauty of appearance, in symmetry and just proportions of hull and rigging, in strength and equipment, and in the elegance and commodiousness of the accommodations, no ship could surpass the Cronberg. Nothing seemed wanting to render the passage before us delightful, excepting a freedom from the apprehension of meeting some one of those British cruisers, who are so much in the habit of appropriating to their own use the property of other people.

But we soon discovered that we were mistaken ; and that our anxiety was to be augmented by a violation of the agreement, on the part of the captain, relative to taking French passengers. We had scarcely got clear of the land, when a person of this description came up from his concealment. Indignant at such treatment, we immediately demanded an explanation, and were told he was not French, but a Swiss gentleman. Such a miserable subterfuge did not mend the matter ; and we expressed our opinions on the subject in terms that the deception naturally called forth, and which were not conducive to that harmony between the captain and passengers, so desirable to both parties.

On the twenty-third day after leaving the Isle of France we passed the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, nearly four degrees to the south of it. The only vessels seen during this time were two ships in company, which kept steadily on their course. Pursuing our way to the northwest we passed the latitude of St. Helena on the 28th of April, at the distance of about a hundred and fifty miles west of it. Having by this time had ample opportunity of trying our ship in every variety of weather, we found her all that could be desired, — a good sea boat, easy to her rigging, sailing and steering well, staunch and strong, and exceedingly comfortable.

On the 1st of June, being in latitude 44° north, and longitude 32° west, we spoke an American schooner bound to Lisbon, who reported a continuation of the war in Europe, but knew nothing relative to the political state of Denmark. With strong westerly gales we made rapid advances towards the Orkney Islands, and saw them on the 9th. The next day we passed by Fair Island passage, near to which we saw a ship bound to the westward ; and the day following, when abreast the Naze of Norway, we spoke a Danish fishing-boat, and received the astounding information of war between England and Denmark. We were told, that the fleet of the former, after having bombarded the Danish capital, were yet in its neighbourhood, and that we could not proceed further towards Elsinore without being intercepted by a British cruiser. Directing our course, therefore, more in shore, with a view of entering a port in Norway, on approaching it, we fired several guns for a pilot, and succeeded in obtaining one, who conducted us into Fleckery, where we anchored towards evening near the fort. An officer immediately boarded us, and confirmed the information we had received from the fisherman. Our passage, of only eighty-four days, had been, in every respect, the pleasantest I had ever made.

Being securely anchored under the guns of a Danish fortress, we could not help reflecting upon the risks we had encountered ; so much greater than we had anticipated, or would have taken, had we been aware of their extent. We contrasted our present situation with what it would have been if we had fallen into the hands of a cruiser. And our emotions of gratitude, of satisfaction and delight, as we thought of these things, were in proportion to the importance of the object attained, and the dangers escaped in the attainment. In high spirits at the unexpected demand for our cargo, and its consequently increased value, we set out early in the morning after our arrival for Christiansand, where the Danish Commodore lay, with a frigate and several corvettes. Our first visit was to the Commodore, who congratulated us on an escape, which he termed almost miraculous, and advised, that, without delay, the ship should be brought to Christiansand, as he considered her position at Fleckery an unsafe one. Accordingly, as soon as practicable, this advice was followed.

Perceiving it to be impossible for the ship to go to Copenhagen at present, and uncertain how long this state of things would continue, Mr. Shaler and myself determined to proceed thither without delay. For this purpose we engaged a passage in a coasting vessel, then on the point of sailing for Nybourg. We dined at the public house in Christiansand, at the *table d'hôte*, with a number of young men of the country, whose pursuits appeared to be mercantile. I supposed myself to be generally acquainted with the European customs on such occasions; but a ceremony was observed here, which I afterwards found to prevail in Denmark; though I believe it is peculiar to that country. When dinner is ended, all rise together, and, bowing to each other, and shaking hands, say, "Much good may it do you," "God bless you," &c.; and this seems to be a piece of etiquette of such universal observance, that a neglect of it would be considered as unmannerly as the omission to drink healths would be in England.

The wind being unfavorable on the 13th, we remained at Christiansand. In the course of the night it came round favorable ; and at dawn we were called to embark ; Mr. Shaler, myself, and my man George, all of whom, in a general passport, were styled American merchants. The third morning after sailing, we arrived at Nybourg, having had a very comfortable and pleasant passage, to which the captain greatly contributed, not less by an attention to our wants, than by manifesting one of the most amiable, cheerful, and happy characters we had ever met. On the same day we crossed the Belt, in the ferry-boat, to Corseur, and slept there, having ordered post horses and a wagon to be ready in the morning. Accordingly, at seven o'clock on the 18th, we set out from Corseur in a very clumsy wagon without springs. But the roads were very good ; and the fields of luxuriant vegetation and beautiful verdure, which met the eye on every side, were the more striking, attractive, and pleasing to us, from having been so long accustomed to the parched earth, and burnt vegetation of a tropical climate. We noticed, on either side of the road, many of those mounds which are said to cover the ashes of ancient chiefs or heroes. Arriving at ten o'clock in the evening, at Copenhagen, we drove to Muller's hotel, a magnificent house, where we were provided with comfortable apartments and good entertainment.

Three years had now elapsed since I had had any accounts from home. Eager, therefore, to obtain some information relative to my connexions, I went out, early in the morning, in pursuit of some of my countrymen, and accidentally met with an old acquaintance, recently from Salem, who assured me of the welfare of my friends, only a few weeks before. Thus, every thing seemed to concur to fill up the measure of my good fortune, and to call forth corresponding emotions of gratitude to the great Giver of all good.

Although peace, between England and Denmark, had been some days restored, and orders, in consequence, had been despatched to Norway for the ship to proceed, yet she did not arrive at Copenhagen before the 16th of July. Hence, we passed a month with no other occupation than sharing in the amusements of the city and its environs.

There are few cities in Europe, which, on a first view, strike a stranger more agreeably than Copenhagen. The size and beauty of the squares, the breadth and cleanliness of the streets, and the general appearance of the houses, both public and private, are proofs of the wealth and enterprise of the city, and of the excellence of its police. A closer examination will convince him, that all irregularities or nuisances, which are offensive to the public, are immediately corrected; that there are no beggars to be met with; and that there is the most perfect security for person and property. The ramparts, which nearly encircle the city, are bordered with a double row of lime trees, offering an extensive and delightful walk to all classes, and an equally delightful ride, but for a few privileged persons only. The gardens of the Rosenberg palace, which is within the city, are thrown open in summer, and afford a cool and pleasant lounge for the gay and idle of both sexes. But the resort most frequented is the garden of the royal summer residence, Fredericksburg palace, about two miles west of the city. These grounds are delightful, and, on Sundays and holydays, are crowded with a gay assemblage of all classes, who, in their best attire, meet to see and to be seen.

On the way to these gardens, a little beyond the western gate of the city, and in the middle of the road, is erected a very handsome obelisk, of brown stone, on a square base of marble ; and on each corner of this base is a handsome marble figure. The four are emblematic of Peace, Plenty, Content, and Industry. The height of the obelisk is forty-eight or fifty feet ; and its object is to commemorate a circumstance highly interesting to the philanthropist, and to the advocate of civil liberty and the rights of man, — the emancipation of the Danish peasantry, which took place January 1st, 1800. On one square of the base is written (in Danish), " To Christian VII. King of the Danes and Norwegians, from united and grateful citizens." On the opposite, " The foundation stone was laid by Frederick, son of the king, the friend of the people, 1792." On the sides of the obelisk, " The king is sensible, that civil liberty, determined by just laws, produces a love of country, and courage to defend it, the desire of instruction, the taste for labor, and the hope of happiness : he has ordered, that servitude shall cease, that order and promptitude preside in the execution of rural laws ; in order that the cultivator, free, courageous, enlightened, industrious, and good, may become an estimable and happy citizen."

The great palace, which was burnt in 1795, and which was one of the most magnificent in Europe, is yet in ruins ; and it is supposed, that the expense of removing the firm and massy walls would scarcely be less than that of repairing it. In the palace of Rosenberg, an old-fashioned pile, which has been built more than two centuries, are kept the crown and jewels, a very handsome and complete dining equipage of the purest gold, silver and mosaic tables, rich coronation and wedding dresses, the sword taken from Charles the Twelfth when he fell near Frederickshall, many fine paintings, &c. This palace is uninhabited. The royal winter residence is in the eastern part of the city, in the beautiful square of Ameliensberg, in the centre of which is a fine equestrian statue of Frederick V. erected at the expense of the Asiatic Company.

The public libraries are large and valuable, and, with proper introduction, are alike accessible to the stranger and citizen. The royal museum is extensive, and contains a great variety of the most curious productions, natural and artificial, which usually constitute such collections. There are two theatres, which are said to be well supported ; and, judging from their crowded state when I have been present, I think this may be the case ; but both houses are on a small scale.

The number of churches appears to be in proper proportion to the extent of the city and number of inhabitants ; and some of them are large and handsome ; but, as far as I had opportunity of observing, they appeared to be but thinly attended ; and, for the most part, by the poorer class. All denominations of religion are tolerated by this government. Among the population of this city are many Israelites. Their occupation is principally that of brokers, dealers, and money-changers, and some of them are very rich ; but here, as elsewhere, they hold a subordinate rank in society.

Still their situation in this city is eligible, compared with that of their brethren in many other parts of Europe; and there are instances of the King's having conferred on some of them distinguished marks of honor.

The character of the Danes has long been established for bravery, loyalty, learning, and virtue ; and experience has taught me, that it is not less remarkable for humanity, generosity, and those qualities of mind and disposition, which render the social intercourse every thing which is desirable. Like most of the northern people of Europe, they have a strong predilection for the customs and habits of their ancestors ; especially the peasantry, with whom the introduction of the improved tools of husbandry and better mode of cultivation has been attended, after many efforts by the more enlightened citizens, with only partial success. Where no advantage is to be derived from innovation it is not attempted ; and the night watch of the city now repeat the same doleful ditty, that has, probably, been in use for some centuries. In addition to the hour, which they name, they have a long moral sentence, varying for each hour, and which, being sung in the harmonious manner so peculiar to watchmen, is particularly edifying.

These remarks, however, do not apply to the fairer part of creation, who watch the progress of improvement, in dress and etiquette, with such diligence, that the fashion of a new bonnet, or any deviation in the mode of salutation, or of visiting, in Paris, is at once known and adopted by them. Hence, the change in the fashion of their habiliments keeps pace with the ever-changing modes which are imported ; and hence, the belles of Copenhagen are as justly remarked for good taste in dress, as for fine persons and graceful manners. The love of exercise, or the desire of seeing and being seen, or perhaps both, induces them to frequent the public walks, in great numbers, every fine day ; where they are admired and courted by the military and the idle young men, who usually abound in most of the large cities of Europe. They possess the facility of acquiring languages, which seems to be peculiar to the northern people ; and it is not uncommon to meet with young ladies who speak three or four different languages. Indeed, the subject both of male and female education receives here that attention which its great importance demands.

The safe arrival of the ship from Norway seemed to close the risk on this adventure ; and the occupation it immediately gave, in assisting to receive and sell the cargo, was a very pleasant one ; especially as coffee was of ready sale, and bore such a price as to produce a very handsome profit. At the same time that I was realizing the amount of this property, I had accounts from America of the safe arrival there of that part of the proceeds of my northwest voyage, which had been left to be shipped, and which, combined with this, rendered me, as to pecuniary affairs, very independent.

CHAPTER XI.

Remarks. — Associated with Mr. Shaler. — Leave Copenhagen. — Arrive at Hamburgh. — Purchase a Vessel. — Decision as to the Command. — Count de Rouissillon. — Peace of Amiens. — Discouraging Prospects. — Vessel near being lost in the River. — Proceed to Sea. — Arrive at Grand Canaria. — Appearance of the Town. — Departure. — Arrival at Rio Janeiro — An Assassination. — Convent of Benedictines. — Bay of Rio. — Departure. — Cape Horn. — Lose a Man. — Arrive at Valparaiso.

The voyage, which was begun with such very contracted means, at Havre de Grace, in the autumn of 1797, and was completed by my arrival at Copenhagen, in the summer of 1801, had been crowned with a success far surpassing my most sanguine anticipations. The fortune I had gained was amply sufficient to enable me to live independently in the moderate and unostentatious style which I proposed to myself. But I had been too long accustomed to a life of activity and excitement, to be reconciled to one of indulgence and repose. Indeed, it is generally acknowledged that the stimulus for engaging in new adventures, and incurring new risks, is increased in proportion to the success attendant on the preceding ones. This stimulus with me would have been great under any circumstances; but when, as at this time, I could have, as my associate in a voyage round the world, my tried friend and fellow-passenger from the Isle of France, William Shaler, a congenial spirit, the temptation was irresistible. On our late passage together we had discussed the project of a voyage to the west coast of America; and indeed, we had so far agreed upon it, as to make it dependent alone on the circumstance of meeting a suitable American vessel, which could be obtained at a reasonable price. None such being procurable at Copenhagen, and aware of the extensive American commerce with Hamburgh, we determined to proceed to that city, in the expectation of procuring such a one as we desired.

Accordingly, as soon as we had settled our business at Copenhagen, we took passage in the packet for Kiel, early in the month of August; but, owing to unceasing adverse winds, our progress was very slow. Our fellow-passengers consisted of two Swedish barons, a *militaire* of the same nation, a Swiss *savant*, and three Danish merchants, each of whom was provided with an enormous pipe, the frequent use of which seemed to be no trifling solace during the tedious hours passed on board the packet.

After having been four days on board, during which, from the absence of every comfort of accommodation and food, we suffered greater privations than are usually experienced on a passage across the Atlantic, we were all very glad to be landed on the Island of Femeren. Here we took post-horses for Hamburgh, and arrived there on the 14th of August. We had some doubts whether our appearance, having had no opportunity of making our toilettes for several days, was not so much against us as to prevent the landlord's admitting us, or whether, as they said, their houses were so full that they could not; for, after having unsuccessfully tried at three different hotels, we were finally obliged to put up with rooms in the fourth story of the Kramerampthuys. Further observation, however, convinced us that the city was uncommonly crowded ; as, in addition to the multitude of strangers, who were there for commercial purposes, there were computed to be thirty thousand French emigrants. Hence the difficulty we experienced in finding lodgings. After some days, we succeeded in procuring rooms at a private house in the great St. Michael's street.

It was soon obvious, that we should meet with no embarrassment in finding here a vessel suited to our purpose ; for the number of American vessels in port afforded us a choice, almost equal to what is usual in any one of the great commercial ports in the United States. In selecting one, on board of which there was a prospect of passing two or three years, and in countries where repairs and articles of equipment were of doubtful attainment, it was important to unite the properties of strength, durability of material, swiftness of sailing, capacity for carrying, and comfortable accommodations. Such an one was offered us in the brig Lelia Byrd of Portsmouth, Virginia, of a hundred and seventy-five tons burden, which we purchased at a fair price.

While my friend and associate went to Bordeaux, to settle some affairs of his own, I remained at Hamburgh to attend to coppering and repairing the vessel, to enlarging and improving the accommodations, and to purchasing the cargo, which we had agreed should be embarked. These objects were accomplished and the vessel laden by the end of September ; at which time Mr. Shaler returned from Bordeaux. It now became necessary to set about shipping our men ; but before this could be done, it was requisite to determine which of us should go in the capacity of master. As both were equally competent to the task, and neither ambitious of it, the subject had not even been mentioned. When it became absolutely necessary to settle the question, we agreed to decide it by lot. The decision was in favor of Mr. Shaler, who took command and enlisted the men, while I embarked in the capacity of supercargo, but with an understanding that these designations were only for form's sake ; and that the duties of each station were to be reciprocally performed by each. Our interests in the vessel, and in the cargo being equal, there existed no inequality in our powers, or in the profits, of whatever description, that might be realized.

During our sojourn at Hamburgh, we had become acquainted with the Count de Rouissillon, a young Polish nobleman, of superior education and talents. He had fought for the liberty of his country, as aid-de-camp to the unfortunate Kosciusco ; and being one of the proscribed, was living in Hamburgh on slender means, and without occupation. In the society of a gentleman of such intelligence, accomplishments, and companionable traits, we knew that we should be repaid for the additional expense of taking him as a *compagnon de voyage*, and we agreed to invite him to accompany us as such. He had never been at sea, and a voyage round the world to a man like him, reared in the interior of a continent, offered such attractions that he acceded to the proposal not only without hesitation, but with expressions of great satisfaction and delight.

Various causes tended so to retard our labors, that it was late in the month of October before every thing was ready for our departure. In the mean time we received information of the sudden and unexpected termination of the war between France and England by the treaty of Amiens, an event which had a most inauspicious bearing on the prospects of our voyage. The commerce of Spain with her colonies, which had been for so many years annihilated by the all-powerful marine of Great Britain, would be again renewed. By the regular introduction, in Spanish ships, of the manufactures of Europe, their hitherto exorbitant prices would be reduced, which would proportionally lessen the inducement which had before existed for obtaining them in an irregular manner. It was obvious, therefore, that a voyage to Chili and Peru could now be made only under the most discouraging auspices; as the same cause which operated to enable the inhabitants to supply themselves with manufactures, would also operate greatly to increase the danger to foreign vessels, by the increased number and vigilance of the *guardacostas*, hitherto confined to their ports by the presence of a superior, hostile force. But a retreat in this advanced state of the business, by a resale of the vessel and cargo, could not be effected without great loss; and although this might have been the most prudent part, we could not reconcile our minds to it; and, therefore, determined to prosecute the voyage.

Before we could act on this decision, all our embarrassments and fears for the future came very near being terminated by the loss of the vessel, while yet in the river. The day after her anchoring off Gluckstadt, whither she had been taken by the pilot, a tremendous storm occurred, which brought in the tide so as to inundate all the lower part of the city. The damage in the river, by the loss and injury of vessels and the destruction of property, was very great. Our vessel dragged her anchors some distance, and was in imminent danger of going on the piers of Gluckstadt, where a total loss would probably have ensued. One cable parted, and the pilot was urgent for cutting away the masts, but the mate would not consent, and we finally escaped with only the loss of the stern boat, which was taken from the davits by the violence of the sea.

Having recovered our anchor, and purchased a new boat, we took the first favorable opportunity to proceed down the river, and after a temporary anchoring at Cuxhaven, put to sea on the 8th of November, 1801, in company with a dozen sail of ships and brigs, which like ourselves were bound to the westward. The superiority of sailing of the Lelia Byrd was soon manifest, as, at the expiration of four hours, but two of the number that sailed with us were discernible from the deck, having been left far astern. The wind throughout the night and the next day was light and variable, and our progress in consequence so slow, that we did not pass Dover till the 13th, off which we were boarded by a boat from that place, with the offer of pilotage, or of forwarding letters ; neither of which services had we any occasion for. Proceeding on our course, we passed in sight of the Isle of Ushant with a fine breeze at northwest, and, without any occurrence worthy of notice, came in sight of the Island of Grand Canaria, on the 28th, where, although only twenty days out, we determined to stop for an additional supply of fruit, vegetables, &c. We therefore anchored next morning in twelve fathoms, sandy bottom, about three miles from the town, which, from this position, presented a very pleasing and somewhat imposing appearance.

After the customary visit from the public authorities, Messrs. Shaler, Rouissillon, and myself, accompanied by the captain of the port, as *cicerone*, went on shore to see the town, and to ascertain if our wants could be supplied without losing too much time. We dined with the captain of the port, who engaged to procure for us the stores of which we had need. Palma de Canaria, which is the name of the town, is the most considerable place on the island, numbering about twelve thousand inhabitants, who are a hardy and industrious race, living principally by the cultivation of the soil. It is the residence of a bishop, whose revenue is said to exceed one hundred thousand dollars per annum. The town is pleasantly situated, on a plain at the foot of the mountains, and on the east side of the island. The cathedral is built of stone, and of dimensions and site, which make it the most conspicuous object on approaching the town from sea. The bishop's palace, the hospital, and the convents, of which there are three of nuns and two of friars, make an imposing appearance; but the private houses in which wealth, if it exists, is usually displayed, do not generally afford proofs of ease and independence in the circumstances of their proprietors. We found provisions of all kinds to be extremely scarce and dear. Three fourths of a dollar was the price of a moderate sized fowl, and sheep and pigs in proportion. Under these circumstances, we took on board no greater supply than would be sufficient to last us to Rio Janeiro, where we had determined to stop, with some hope of being able there to dispose of our cargo.

On the 2d of December, having made our acknowledgments to the captain of the port for his civilities, and taken leave of him, we went on board, weighed anchor, and made all sail to the southward. The trade-winds were unusually light, the sea proportionally smooth, and the weather serene and pleasant. Nevertheless our little vessel felt the impulse of the slightest breeze, and would make considerable progress at times when many vessels could not keep steerage way ; hence we had no apprehension of long delay in passing the calm latitudes. On the 20th, having crossed the equator in longitude 26° west, we soon took the southeast trade-wind, which for several days blew with such strength as obliged us to single reef our topsails. As is usual in advancing southward, the wind became more easterly, which, enabling us to set our studding sails, carried us onward at the rate of ten to eleven miles an hour, for several days in succession, and gave us promise of soon reaching our destined port. On the 1st of January, 1802, we came in sight of Cape Frio, and next day, towards evening, came to anchor in seven fathoms, outside the fort of Santa Cruz, it being calm and the tide setting against us.

Soon after anchoring we were visited by the captain of the port, accompanied by an officer from the guardship, who, after making themselves acquainted with the object of our visit, desired us to remain in our present position till the will of their superiors should be made known to us, in the morning. Accordingly, as soon as the sea breeze set in, the captain of the port again came on board with the requisite permission to enter the port. Then, weighing anchor, he conducted us to a very snug birth within the Ilha das Cobras, where we moored near an American and a Danish ship, the only foreigners in port, and where we appeared to be perfectly sheltered from the influence of any of the storms or hurricanes, which are peculiar to the tropical regions.

The next morning we were visited, with much formality, by the municipal authorities, accompanied by the interpreter, to ascertain the condition of our vessel, and to know our wants, in order that, from their report to superior authority, it might be decided how long we should be permitted to remain in port. Aware of the jealousy of the government towards all foreigners, and their practice of rigidly enforcing the law for the exclusion of any other flag than their own, except in cases of emergency, we presumed the time granted to us would be very limited, and were therefore very well satisfied, when it was announced to us, that the Viceroy permitted us to remain eight days. This was ample time to fill up our water-casks, to procure a supply of stock, vegetables, and fruit, and to ascertain if it were possible to dispose of our cargo to some one of the traders, who were here from the River Plate.

Having at length obtained leave to go on shore, we readily availed ourselves of it, although with the incumbrance of a soldier constantly following us ; nor, during our stay, were we at any time on shore without being thus watched. Nevertheless, as there were no limits to our wandering about the city, we visited nearly every part of it. We passed one evening at the theatre. The company was numerous, orderly, well-dressed, and apparently respectable. Their patience was put to the test by his Excellency the Viceroy, before whose arrival the curtain could not be raised, and who kept them waiting till past eight o'clock. When he entered his box, all rose, with their faces towards him; at the same time the music struck up a favorite air. After this, a comedy in five acts was performed, succeeded by a ballet, which gave general satisfaction, and which detained us till past midnight.

On the third day after our arrival, being in one of the large streets of the city, engaged in conversation with the linguist, whom I had accidentally met there, I perceived a man carried by in the arms of two others. His clothes were very bloody, and he appeared to be dying. On inquiring what accident had happened to him, I was told, with much *sang froid*, that he had just been stabbed, and that the perpetrator of the deed had escaped. The linguist seemed to receive the information with as little emotion as if it were a circumstance of every day's occurrence. Yet it is apparent, that no people are more attached to life; and if the crime of murder were held in as general abhorrence as in many other countries, it would be of equally rare occurrence. But, in this country, the assassin generally escapes with impunity; and this encourages a repetition of the crime, on every trifling provocation.

In one of our morning walks, Mr. Rouissillon and myself went to the Convent of Benedictines, which is beautifully situated on an eminence facing the harbour. Seeing one of the monks at the door of the chapel, who spoke Italian, Mr. Rouissillon made known to him our desire of seeing the interior of the convent, when he very civilly expressed the pleasure he should take in showing it to us. We were first conducted through the chapel, which, as usual in these establishments, is the pride of the fraternity. The profusion of ornaments and gold about the altar, which strikes the eye on first entering, is very grand and imposing, and probably produces the reverential effect intended on the majority of those who worship there. Contiguous to the chapel is a small room, used exclusively as the depositary of some relics of a saint, whose history, and even name, I have forgotten. Following our conductor, we passed up a flight of stairs to the cells and the dining-room. The former are about twelve feet square, with one window, and are furnished each with a bed, a chair, and a table of ordinary manufacture. The latter is about sixty feet by thirty, with small windows near the ceiling. On one side, about midway of the room, is a pulpit, from which one of the brothers reads a sermon or homily, while the others are engaged at their meal.

On the same floor, and in a delightful room, the large windows of which open upon the harbour, is the library, containing from ten to twelve thousand volumes, mostly in the French, Italian, and Latin languages. My friend evinced so familiar an acquaintance with many of these works, that the monk, who accompanied us, was much astonished. This we discovered by his remarking it to a brother then in the room, and taking occasion to contrast the ignorance and indifference to literature of their own countrymen with the intelligence and laudable curiosity of these foreign youths. The revenue of this fraternity is said to be very large, from sugar and coffee plantations. They number about forty good healthy-looking men, who may be supposed to be leading innocent lives, but, certainly to appearance, very useless ones. On taking leave of our good-natured conductor, he very civilly invited us to come again. The public, or royal garden, which is about two miles southeast from the city, and on the border of the bay, is susceptible of being made a beautiful walk and lounge, as it is shaded with many fine trees, and is open to the full influence of the sea breeze ; but it is in a dilapidated state, is much neglected, and but little frequented.

Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the picture presented on entering the bay of Rio Janeiro. On the left is the remarkable high rock, in the form of a sugar-loaf, inclining north very considerably from a perpendicular, and bounding that side of the entrance. On the right is the formidable and beautiful fortress of Santa Cruz, near to whose walls ships must pass to keep in the deep water, and from which they are hailed by the sentry. In front, and apparently in mid passage, is a small rocky island, on which is a battery ; and beyond this is the bay, of too great extent yet to discern the extremity. Passing between this small island and the point of Santa Cruz, the bay is entered, and the scenery becomes more picturesque. On one side, the city, with its churches, its convents, its palace and houses, and a battery, occupy the front ground. In the rear, and at a greater elevation, is seen the aqueduct, constructed with two tiers of arches. On the other side are irregular hills, beautifully clothed in verdure, on several of which are perched neat white chapels and convents, whose inhabitants seem to be withdrawn from the rest of the world. Beyond these, the horizon is limited by a range of singularly uneven mountains, which, from the resemblance, are called the organ pipes. In the bay, immediately in front of the city, are seen the ships of war, beyond which, and behind the Ilha das Cobras, which forms the inner harbour, is the forest of masts of the merchant ships. The intercourse, kept up between the city and St. Domingo and Praya Grande, on the opposite side of the bay, by means of numerous small sail-boats, gives life and animation to the scene, and a harmonious finish, which renders it perfectly beautiful.

The city itself, independently of its natural advantages, and the beautiful scenery by which it is environed, has nothing to recommend it to the stranger's attention. Its palace is of ordinary construction, neither remarkable for size nor architectural proportions. The convents, like all buildings of that description, have the appearance of prisons. The cathedral, being only partly built, had neither shape nor comeliness. The houses, generally, appeared to be well adapted to the climate ; but I observed nothing in the exterior of any of them, which would indicate the wealth which is attributed to many of the inhabitants. The aqueduct, by which the city is supplied with water, is decidedly the most useful, and probably the most costly, public work to be seen here. It commences near the Corcovado, where the waters are collected in a covered reservoir, and are thence conveyed into the canal, in which, protected from the heat of the sun, they reach the city without losing their freshness.

Finding that we could not dispose of our cargo here, and having provided the stores requisite for the passage to the Chilian coast, there was no inducement to prolong our stay beyond the time limited at our entry. We therefore, on the 9th, cleared out at the custom-house, and moved the vessel from the harbour into the bay, that we might be ready to take advantage of the land breeze early the following morning. Having apprized the Captain of the port of this intention, he came on board in good season, and conducted us out till past the castle, when he took leave with the customary salutation, and we pursued our course to the south.

The occurrences during this passage, with one melancholy exception, were as uninteresting as is common on such voyages. The change of latitude brings a change of weather, and this causes the most important, if not the only variety in the daily routine, — that of reducing and spreading sail more frequently, as we advance toward the stormy parallel. On the 1st day of February we saw land to the westward, being in latisude 54° 40′ south. But, having head winds for several succeeding days, we made scarcely any progress till the 5th, when we took a breeze from northwest, which, after a few hours, came from northeast ; and next day, from east-northeast, from whence it continued a fine breeze throughout the day, and increasing in the night, so as to oblige us to take in top-gallant sails, and, before morning, to reef our topsails.

On the morning of the 7th we perceived the water to be discolored, and soon after saw Cape Horn to the westward, distant nine or ten leagues. Soon after, the wind shifted to the south-southeast, and thence to south-southwest, blowing in squalls, with great violence, which obliged us to furl the foretopsail and close reef the main one. While engaged on the latter, we had the misfortune to lose John Green, a Norwegian, who fell from the yard, struck his head against the main chains, and fell into the sea. He was seen but a moment, his head very bloody, and then disappeared. An immediate and general rush was made to clear away the boat, but a moment's reflection was sufficient to satisfy every one, that the boat could not fail to be swamped immediately in the high, and very irregular sea, which had been created by the sudden shifting of the wind. Nor, had it been otherwise, would it have been of any avail, as the blow on the head must have been fatal. Thus perished, in an instant, an excellent young man, in the prime of life, and vigor of health and spirits, beloved by his shipmates, and highly prized by the master and officers. This distressing event cast a gloom on the spirits of all on board, which was not entirely effaced during the remainder of the passage, nor till new scenes and new avocations, in a degree, obliterated the recollections of the past.

We began now to experience a specimen of that tempestuous weather for which Cape Horn is so justly famed. Hard and continued gales from the westward, during which we could only lie to; some days so cold, although in midsummer, that the sleet and snow lay on the weather side of the mast till past noon. At length, after having contended more than a week with adverse winds and boisterous weather, we had the satisfaction of a favorable change, which continuing, without other incident worthy of note, carried us to the Bay of Valparaiso, where we arrived on the 24th day of February, 1802, forty-five days from Rio Janeiro, and, including stoppages, one hundred and eight days since leaving the Elbe.

CHAPTER XII.

American Vessels at Valparaiso. — Permission to obtain Supplies. — Threat of the Captain-General. — Controversy between the Governor and Captain Rowan. — Arrest and Imprisonment of Americans. — Preparation for Hostilities. — Anger of the Governor. — Determined on Vengeance. — His Treachery. — Capture of the Ship Hazard. — Imprisonment of Rowan. — Correspondence with the Captain-General. — Defer our Departure. — Seizure of our Vessel. — Interrogatories. — Our Vessel restored to us. — Order of the Captain-General to leave the Port. — Proposition from the Collector. — Refused. — Return of the actual Governor. — Interview and civil Reception. — Departure.

On entering the Bay of Valparaiso, we were boarded by a naval officer from a *guardacosta*, then lying in port. He desired us not to cast anchor till the captain had presented himself to the Governor and obtained his permission. Consequently, while Mr. Shaler accompanied this officer to the Governor, we lay off and on in the bay. More than an hour had elapsed before his return with a permission to anchor, and to remain till a reply could be received from the Captain-General at Santiago, to our request for leave to supply our wants, for which a despatch was to be forwarded immediately.

We were surprised to find no less than four American vessels lying here, viz. the ship Hazard of Providence, on a voyage similar to our own, detained on suspicion of being English, from the circumstance of being armed. The ship Miantinomo and schooner Oneco of Norwich, Connecticut, each with valuable cargoes of seal skins taken at the Island of Masafuera, both detained, and finally confiscated, on a charge of having supplied English privateers, then on the coast, with provisions which they had obtained at Talcahuana; and the ship Tryal, of Nantucket, a whaler, also detained for alleged illicit trade. If we were surprised to meet so many of our countrymen here, we were equally mortified, and in some degree alarmed for our own safety, to find them all under seizure. Yet, while we violated no law, and required no other than the privileges secured to us by treaty, we could not believe that we should be molested.

On the third day after the Governor's messenger had been despatched a reply was received from the Captain-General, — the purport of which was, that our passage had been so good that we could not be in want of provisions, if we had provided such quantity in Europe as we ought to have done. But, if it were otherwise, and our wants were as urgent as represented, the mode by which we proposed paying for them, by a bill on Paris, was inadmissible; and, therefore, that it was his Excellency's order that we should leave the port at the expiration of twenty-four hours after this notification. On remonstrating with the Governor, and pointing out to him the inhumanity of driving us to sea, while in possession of so small a supply of the first necessaries of life, he very reluctantly consented to our remaining another post; and even promised to make a more favorable report, on the urgency of our necessities, than he had done. But, as the order was reiterated, we doubted his having performed his promise, and therefore determined to write directly to the Captain-General.

In conformity with this decision, Mr. Shaler addressed a letter to the Captain-General, in the Spanish language, expressing his surprise at the order for his departure, without affording him the supplies which were indispensable, and for which provision had been made by treaty. "Presuming that his Excellency's intentions had been misconceived by the Governor, he had ventured to disobey the order, and to remain in port till the reception of his Excellency's reply." A prompt and very polite answer to the letter was received, granting us permission to supply ourselves with every thing we desired; and, what was very extraordinary, giving us further permission, which had not been asked, of selling so much of the cargo as would be sufficient to pay for the supplies. After which, he desired we would leave the port immediately; and added, that if we entered any other port on the coast, we should be treated as contrabandists.

The latter paragraph of his Excellency's letter, evidently conveyed a doubt, in his mind, whether our destination and the object of our voyage was what we had stated it to be. But, having subjected ourselves to the mortification of having the correctness of our statement doubted, there seemed to be no other remedy than patience and forbearance. At any rate, our embarrassments were more entirely relieved than we had anticipated. We procured our provisions and paid for them in manufactures, and were engaged in settling our accounts, preparatory to our departure on the morrow, having already exceeded a month since our arrival.

But we were unconscious of what a day would bring forth, and entirely unprepared for a train of unfortunate events, in which every American in port was more or less involved. It appeared, that a part of the cargo of the ship Hazard consisted of muskets. These were demanded by the Governor, on pretext of being contraband of war, and were very properly refused by Captain Rowan, who stated to the Governor, that they were taken on board at a neutral port, that they were not destined to any port of the enemies of Spain, and that they did not come under the sixteenth article of the treaty.

During our stay here we had ascertained, that the actual governor of the place was, with his family, on a visit to the capital, and that the person with whom we had been treating, and who represented here the Majesty of Spain, Don Antonio Francisco Garcia Carrasco, was an officer of inferior grade, acting as governor during the absence of his superior. Don Antonio was about sixty years of age, of pleasing manners, of prepossessing countenance, and apparently of amiable disposition ; but of no decision of character, of contracted mind, puffed up with vanity, and confounded at the audacity that should dare to refuse compliance with an order given in the name of his King ; indeed, in his person, character, and capacities, there was a striking resemblance to the portrait drawn by Cervantes, of the celebrated Governor of Barrataria.

The pride of the Governor was evidently wounded, by the refusal of Rowan to obey his demand of the muskets ; and his subsequent measures to obtain them were calculated to exhibit his folly, and to increase his mortification and hostile feelings. To suppose, with his feeble means, that he could coerce a compliance with his demand, was to suppose the American to be as great a poltroon as himself. As far, however, as the attempt could prove it, he certainly did expect to do so.

The troops of the garrison, about thirty in number, with drums beating, and colors displayed, were seen marching from the castle to the seashore, in the afternoon of the day on which the muskets had been refused. Rowan, who was on the alert, saw them embark in a large launch, accompanied by the Governor, and prepared himself for resistance. The launch, which with rowers and soldiers, was excessively crowded, approached the Hazard with the royal colors flying. When within hail of the ship, the Governor stood up, and demanded, if he might come on board. Rowan replied, that he should be happy to be honored with his company, but that he would not permit any one of his soldiers to come on board. The launch approached nearer to the ship, to enable the parties to converse with more ease. The Governor again formally demanded the surrender of the arms, and was again refused. He remonstrated, and urged the consequences of resisting the authority of the King's representative. But it was all unavailing, and perceiving that neither threats nor persuasion had the desired effect, that armed sentries were stationed at the gangways of the ship, and the proper precautions taken against a *coup de main*, he returned to the shore with his soldiers, deeply mortified, excessively irritated, and vowing vengeance.

But it is not unusual, that what is done in the moment of great excitement, is not of the most judicious character, and that by suffering ourselves to be controlled by our passions, we commit acts which increase the absurdity of a ridiculous position, and augment our embarrassments. This was precisely the case with the Governor, in this instance. Without adverting to consequences, but influenced by the violence of his passion, he, immediately on landing, ordered every American who could be found on shore, to be arrested and shut up in the castle. Shaler, Rouissillon, and myself, being of this number, were accordingly arrested, and, with four others of our countrymen, were marched to prison, in charge of a file of soldiers, who, by their conversation during the time, evinced that their feelings were in unison with those of the Governor.

At the same time, with the order for our arrest, and as if to consummate his folly, the Governor made another attempt to intimidate, by ordering the captain of a large Spanish ship, which mounted eighteen heavy guns betwixt decks, to bring his broadside to bear on the Hazard, and to order her colors to be hauled down, in token of submission, on penalty of being sunk. After what had occurred, to make such a threat, without daring to take the responsibility of executing it, served only to increase the awkwardness of the Governor's position. While all, both on shore, and on board the shipping, were watching with intense interest, the result of this threat, a man was observed on board the Hazard, engaged in nailing the colors to the mast. A more significant reply could not possibly be made. The Governor was foiled; and a calm succeeded the storm, during the time required to despatch a courier to the Captain-General, and to receive his instructions in the case.

Our arrest prevented our sailing, as we intended to do, the same evening. Having passed a most uncomfortable night, without beds, in the castle, where we were annoyed by myriads of fleas, and having been without food of any kind, since noon of the preceding day, we wrote to the Governor in the morning, requesting to be provided with food and beds. Our letter was returned unopened; but, about noon, by a verbal message from the Governor, we were informed, that liberty was given us to go on board our respective ships. We were doubtful of the propriety of availing ourselves of this liberty, so ungraciously proffered, till an apology should be made to us for the aggression. It was finally settled, that Shaler, being the most important person, as master of the vessel, should remain in prison. We therefore sent to him a bed and provisions. This was a determination for which the Governor was entirely unprepared, and which seemed to confound him. With characteristic imbecility he went to the castle; and, greeting Mr. Shaler with apparent cordiality, begged him to go on board his vessel, and proceed to sea. This Shaler offered to do, on condition of receiving a written apology for imprisoning us. He declined giving it. Permission was then asked to send an express, with a letter, to the Captain-General. This he peremptorily and angrily refused, and then suddenly started off to superintend the preparations which he was making to compel a surrender of the Hazard, the orders for which he expected to receive the next day.

Although the ostensible reason for refusing a compliance with the Governor's order to go to sea, was to obtain satisfaction, yet the real cause of our delay, was the hope and belief of being able to render essential service in aiding to extricate Rowan from his difficulties. It was evident, that the Governor desired only the sanction of the Captain-General, to attempt coercion; and, in expectation of receiving it, he was making the requisite preparations. The soldiers of the garrison and the populace were busily engaged, under the direction of the Governor, in placing cannon, in every direction, to bear on the ship. The inhabitants of the houses, in the vicinity, left them, and retired to the hills. The activity and bustle of business, had given place to the preparation and excitement of war; and the confusion and apprehension could hardly have been exceeded, if the town had been on the point of being taken by assault.

While Mr. Rouissillon and myself were walking through one of the streets, we encountered the Governor, who saluted us, and asked me, if I was not next in command on board to Mr. Shaler. Answering in the affirmative, he ordered me to go on board, and proceed to sea. On my rejoining, that I could not go without my Captain, he threatened to seize the vessel, and, without waiting for a reply, left us abruptly, and apparently in an angry mood. In the course of the following day, being the fourth from the beginning of hostilities, the express arrived from Santiago, bringing a letter to Captain Rowan from the Captain-General. It contained such promise of redress, if he would comply with the requisitions of government, by delivering up the arms, that he was induced to yield. The arms were accordingly delivered to the order of the Governor, and his receipt taken for them. The portentous cloud, which had been lowering over the affairs of our countrymen, in this place, appeared to be now dissipated. The colors of defiance, which had been waving on the ships and at the castle, from the beginning of the dispute, were hauled down; the cannon, which had been transported to the beach, were returned to their ancient position; the sentries were no longer seen at the gangways of the Hazard; the old women and children returned to their habitations; and every thing indicated peace and repose.

This repose, however, was only the treacherous calm that precedes the hurricane. The Governor could not brook the indignity he had suffered. The vengeance he had vowed, and which he had not the courage to take openly, he determined to execute treacherously; and his measures, which were taken with great secrecy, and with the stimulus of plunder, were executed with such success, as must have satisfied his highest ambition, and served as a balm to his wounded feelings.

On the evening of the day, when the muskets were surrendered, Mr. Rouissillon and myself made a visit to the Governor, and found him to be as affable and pleasant, as was naturally to be expected on attaining the object, of which he had so long been in pursuit. He hoped we should proceed to sea the next day, and inquired, why Rowan did not come on shore; adding, to our surprise, that if he did not come voluntarily, he should use coercion. We assured him of our belief, that his not having been on shore that day was accidental, and not from any apprehension of molestation, begged him not to think of coercion, and offered our guarantee, that he should present himself at the castle in the morning. On leaving the Governor we went on board the Hazard, and reported to Rowan our conversation with the Governor. He had no hesitation in determining to act in accordance with his desire, by visiting him, as early as it was permitted strangers to be on shore.

Fearing, in this instance, a too ready compliance, in which case the opportunity for revenge would escape him, the Governor must have had every thing planned and prepared in the evening, probably while we were with him, to execute his cowardly design in the morning, before it was permitted Rowan to come on shore. The launches, which were used to transport wheat from the shore to the large ship before mentioned, passed and repassed near the Hazard while thus engaged; consequently, they would excite no suspicion when approaching the ship. An enterprise, involving so little risk, and which promised so golden a harvest of plunder, had not to wait for the requisite number of men. About two hundred ruffians, armed with pistols, swords, and knives, embarked in the launches used for carrying wheat, and boarded the Hazard, on each side, while her men were entirely off their guard, unsuspicious of any cause of hostility. To save their lives, such of the crew as were able made a hasty retreat to the hold. But there were two poor fellows lying sick in their hammocks; and these were both dangerously wounded. Rowan was screened from the vengeance of the banditti by the interference of an officer, taken immediately on shore, and sent to the castle.

The scene of plunder and confusion, which ensued, beggars all description. Perceiving that the mischief was likely to be more extensive than he had imagined, the Governor went on board, with a party of soldiers, to arrest its progress. But he soon discovered, that it is easier to set a mob in motion, than to control it afterwards. With his utmost efforts, aided by the soldiers, and by the commandant of the custom-house guards and his satellites, he was incapable of resisting the progress of the plunderers, until, being satiated, they retreated with their booty to the shore, as opportunity offered. When there were but few remaining, he succeeded in driving them away, and placed the ship in charge of the mates.

After such an achievement, such a gathering of laurels, there was some hazard to a foreigner in calling on the Governor, even though it were to compliment him. But, being determined that the Captain-General should have our version of the transaction, I called on him, at noon, for leave to send an express to the capital to complain of the outrage, and to demand that redress there, which we asked in vain here. In an angry tone, and instead of replying to my request, he inquired, if we were desirous of provoking him to serve us in the manner he had done the ship? I replied, that I hoped there was no danger of our causing him any provocation, but should it be our misfortune to do so, to the extent intimated, there could exist no cause for such violent measures as had been used towards the ship, as no resistance would be made. I then remarked on the advantage that would result to the government in keeping away the rabble, and thus securing the whole property. I stated, also, that there were many valuable instruments, charts, and books, on board, which would be useful to the Spanish marine, but which might be destroyed, if, as he suggested, "he served us in the manner he had done the ship"; and I repeated a hope, that he would not do so. Seeing that I was not to be intimidated, and was, moreover, determined not to go to sea without communicating with the Captain-General, he at length reluctantly consented to our sending an express.

We had reason to believe, that, if we could obtain permission to visit Santiago, we should there be able to make a sale of our cargo, deliverable outside the port, and which, at one half the prices current in the city, would yield us a handsome profit. To gain an additional number of days in port, therefore, in the hope of obtaining leave to proceed to the capital, or of meeting some person from there desirous of purchasing the cargo, was another inducement for the refusal of Mr. Shaler to leave the castle. When, therefore, this object was attained, by opening a correspondence with the Captain-General, he left the castle, and returned on board the Lelia Byrd.

The letter, written by Mr. Shaler in Spanish, and complaining of the outrageous conduct of the Governor, to the unoffending citizens of a friendly power, was sent by a courier. It produced an interchange of several letters, the purport of which was, on one side, to deny the right of any foreign vessel to traverse these seas, which, his Excellency said, like the territory, belonged exclusively to his Catholic Majesty; on the other, to refute the absurd doctrine of any nation's possessing an exclusive right to any particular sea, and giving chapter and verse in the treaty, not only for our right to sail where we please, but to enter their ports, and demand succour. His Excellency closed the correspondence by expressing a hope, that if we did not admit their exclusive right to these seas, we would, at least, allow them to be masters in their own ports.

It being now very evident, that we should not succeed in obtaining leave to visit Santiago, and, having assisted in bringing Rowan's affairs into such a train, as promised a speedy and satisfactory adjustment, there existed no farther inducement to remain longer in port. Accordingly, having settled our various accounts of disbursements, Mr. Shaler, accompanied by Mr. Rouissillon, waited on the Governor, to notify him of his intention to proceed to sea next morning, and to take leave. He received them with great cordiality, expressed much regret at what had occurred, promised to remedy the mischief as far as he was able, offered us every facility in his power to insure our departure, at the time appointed, and, though it would not have been surprising if he had wished us to the devil, on the contrary, wished us a good voyage.

There was a number of our unfortunate countrymen in port, principally the crews of the condemned vessels, who had lost their little all, and whose situation excited commiseration. We knew, that, if they could get to Masafuera with the provisions they could obtain here, they would, by pursuing their vocation, soon bring up arrears. We determined, therefore, to go so far out of our way, as to give them all passages thither. They all, very gratefully, accepted our invitation. Being ready, on the 21st of April, and on the point of leaving the port, a message was brought from the Governor, requesting to see Mr. Shaler. He went immediately to him, and found, to his astonishment, that he wanted him to defer his departure a few days. It appeared, that some suspicious or malicious person had suggested to this silly governor, that our object, in taking so many men on board, was to capture the large ship, then on the point of sailing for Lima. To guard against this, he begged Mr. Shaler to defer sailing till forty-eight hours after that ship had sailed, and moreover hoped, we would not revenge ourselves on any unarmed Spanish vessel we might chance to meet.

In acceding to the Governor's solicitation, we felt more for the disappointment of our passengers, than for any inconvenience to ourselves. Three or, at most, four days would soon wear away, when we should be off, and experience once more the blessings of liberty; for it did not enter our imaginations, that there could possibly exist any further difficulty. The time we had agreed to wait, however, had not quite expired, when we were taken all aback again. It appeared, that one of our sailors, an Irishman, who had deserted, had given information, that we had many kegs of dollars on board, stowed under the ballast. As he had pointed out precisely where they were, an armed force came on board, by order of the Governor, and, proceeding directly to the place indicated by the sailor, found, instead of kegs of dollars, kegs of quicksilver, of which they took away four, giving a receipt for them.

We flattered ourselves, that this aggression would be the means of opening the way for our going to the capital. Renewing, therefore, our correspondence with the Captain-General, to complain of this outrage, and remarking on our entire want of confidence in the capacity or honesty of the Governor and his advisers, we reiterated our request for leave to repair to Santiago, for the more speedy adjustment of our grievance. In reply, his Excellency remarked on the loss of time which our coming to Santiago would cause, and observed, that the difficulty could be easily adjusted at Valparaiso, by answering satisfactorily the following questions, viz. Why was the quicksilver hidden under the ballast? To whom does it belong? To what port destined? These interrogatories, being solemnly propounded by the Governor to Mr. Shaler, a notary public being present, he replied to the first, that it was not hidden; to the second, that it belonged to the owners of the vessel and cargo; to the third, that its destination was round the world; and to this deposition, he took an oath on an odd volume of Shakspeare, presented him by the Governor for that purpose.

The result of this investigation was immediately despatched to the Captain-General; and an answer returned by his Excellency with the least possible delay; the purport of which was, that the four kegs of quicksilver should be restored to us on board, and that we should then leave the port without further delay. We were now surprised by an overture from the commandant of the custom-house guards, to purchase the quicksilver. He proposed to us a good price, and to take it out, and bring the amount, in dollars, on board himself. The sale, at his proposal, would have been a very advantageous one; but our experience had taught us to beware of treachery; and, imagining such to be lurking in this proposal, we declined accepting it. During this controversy, the men, whom we intended taking to Masafuera, had dispersed in various directions; so that, having on board only our original small complement of men, the authorities had no cause to apprehend any acts of piracy from us.

The functions of Don Antonio, as Governor, *ad interim*, having ceased on the arrival of his senior from Santiago, when we were on the point of sailing, we made him a visit as soon after his arrival as etiquette would permit. He gave us a most cordial, frank, and friendly reception, and expressed much regret at having been absent on our arrival; as, he said, not only would the trouble we had experienced have been avoided, but he would have obtained permission for us to visit Santiago. The order for our departure, however, being now given by the Captain-General was irrevocable, and he therefore hoped there would be no further delay. On taking leave, he inundated us with civilities and good wishes, promising, moreover, to use his best endeavours to bring the affair of our unfortunate countryman, Rowan, to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. These civilities, professions, and promises, passed with us for no more than they were worth, after the observations our opportunities had afforded us, of judging of the character, and motives of action, of the authorities here.

It was now the 6th day of May, being two and a half months from the date of our arrival; a long time, considering that we were allowed only twenty-four hours by the Captain-General, to remain in port; and for the third time had settled our accounts, and made all ready for our departure. No further obstacle to our sailing occurring, and having taken leave of our acquaintance and countrymen, we left Valparaiso, to the great satisfaction of the Governor and authorities, no less than of ourselves.

During our sojourn at Valparaiso, we had become acquainted with, and were in the habit of visiting on familiar terms, several interesting native families; for the native inhabitants sympathized with us, and condemned the unfriendly course manifested towards us by their rulers. They seemed, generally, to be awakening to a sense of the abject state of vassalage in which they were held by their European masters; the posts of honor and profit being exclusively in possession of Europeans, to the great annoyance of the Creoles. Bursts of indignation, at these and other grievances connected with them would sometimes escape them, which were generally accompanied with a hope that the period of emancipation was not very distant.

Such sentiments were met by us with corresponding ones, by drawing a parallel between their country and ours, while each was under a colonial system of government, by adverting to the greater physical means in their possession to enable them to throw off the yoke, than was possessed by the Anglo-Americans, in the beginning of their Revolution, by demonstrating to them the greatly increased value of the products of their soil, and the diminished prices at which they would receive the manufactures of Europe, when their commerce should be freed from the shackles to which tyranny and folly had so long subjected it ; and finally, by remarking on the paralysing and debasing effects on the mind, which are inseparable from a protracted state of dependence and vassalage. For the better promotion of the embryo cause, we gave them a copy of our Federal Constitution, and a translation into Spanish, of our Declaration of Independence.

Valparaiso probably is indebted for its name to its romantic scenery and to the salubrity of its climate, for in no other respect does it deserve the appellation.* Between the base of the hills and the sea, there is a street of moderate breadth, which is bounded on the west by high and precipitous hills ; and on the east, is continued to the adjoining village of Almendrale. In this street are the best houses; some of which are two stories high, of brick plastered, and of ordinary structure and appearance. Crossing this street at right angles, are others in the deep chasms between the hills, which soon cease to be streets, and become crooked and narrow paths, leading up on either side the hills, to cottages and huts of very mean appearance. The church, which is a very ordinary structure, is situated on an elevation on one of the cross streets, and near the centre of the town. The castle, including the Governor's residence, fronts on the bay, and is a dilapidated enclosure, unworthy of the name.

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* *Val-Paraiso*, Valley of Paradise.

The bay of Valparaiso is spacious, and being sheltered from the south winds, which prevail during seven months of the year, from October to May, is very smooth and safe riding for ships during that season. At the season when the north winds prevail, from May to October, it is dangerous lying there, as there is no shelter from this wind, and its usual accompaniment, a rough sea, which sometimes comes in with a force and impetuosity that cannot be resisted, even with the best ground-tackle. It is the nearest seaport to Santiago, the capital of Chili; and hence derives an importance, which it possesses not intrinsically.

The native inhabitants are generally amiable, hospitable, indolent, and ignorant. It seems as if it were the policy of the existing government to discourage industry by the trammels to which the commerce of the country is subjected. If a greater quantity of wheat, or other perishable commodity is raised, than can find vent through the narrow channels that are open, it is lost to the cultivator; and copper, the other staple product of Chili, is, by the same governmental restrictions on commerce, kept at a price not exceeding half its value. The government, also, and particularly the ecclesiastical part of it, are sensible that their power rests on the ignorance of the people; hence the excessive dread of the introduction of all books; the watchfulness of the priests to guard their flocks against possessing any volume, which they have not seen and approved, as well as against the contaminating influence and opinions of foreign heretics. The care, anxiety, and efforts made by them, to suppress all means of information, do not, however, pass unobserved by many of the most sensible Creoles, who seem to be waking up to a sense of their degradation. With these the seed is planted, which, in due time, may be expected to bring forth abundant fruit.

CHAPTER XIII.

Arrive at the Gallipagos Islands. — Transactions there. — Departure. — Singular Flaw of Wind. — Arrival at San Blas. — Visited by the Commissary — Agreement with Him. — Opposed by the Governor. — Character of the Governor. — Controversy between the Governor and Commissary. — Order to leave San Blas. — Arrangement with Rouissillon. — He leaves us for Mexico. — Go to the Three Maria Islands. — Embarrassment. — Letter from Rouissillon. — Death of the Governor. — Catch a Sun Fish. — Description of Three Marias. — Return again to San Blas. — Proposal for the Cargo. — Return of Rouissillon. — Sale of Part of the Cargo. — Purchase Sea Otters' Skins. — Suspicion of Treachery. — Take final Leave of Rouissillon. — His Character. — Death. — Again anchor at the Three Marias. — Discover a Traitor in the Mate. — Seize his Papers. — Remarks thereon.

Our long detention, and unfortunate controversy at Valparaiso, operated unfavorably to our prospects, as our vessel, ourselves, and the disturbances we had caused, had become known, not only to the government officers, but to almost the whole population of the various ports of Chili and Peru, included between Valparaiso and Lima. To enter, therefore, any other port between those limits, or to be captured in the neighbourhood of any one of them, would subject us to the risk of confiscation. It was, consequently, judged to be most prudent to proceed to some place so distant from the scene of our late transactions, that the knowledge of them could not have preceded us. This object would, doubtless, be realized in any of the ports of the Vice-Royalty of Mexico; and, from various sources of information, we were induced to believe that San Blas offered the greatest facilities for the disposal of our cargo, with the least risk attending it. To San Blas, therefore, we determined to proceed, touching on our way, at the Gallipagos Islands.

In conformity with this determination, we shaped our course, and having none other than the favorable winds, delightful weather, and smooth sea, which are peculiar to this region, we arrived and anchored at the bottom of a spacious bay at Albemarle Island, on the 30th of May, at about a mile distant from the shore, and opposite a beach of black sand. Here we passed a week very agreeably in rambling about the island; and in the enjoyment of a freedom of action and of will, the more highly prized and enjoyed, from the restraint to which we had been, of late, so much subjected; and not unlike what the schoolboy feels when emancipated from the control of the master. The fish were so abundant, at our anchorage, that no skill was required in taking them. As many hooks as were lowered and baited, would bring up fish, and this as fast as we could haul them in; so that beside having abundance for the immediate use of all, we salted a barrel full for consumption on the passage. In size, texture, and flavor, they had a great affinity to the cod. The turtles are very abundant and taken with great ease. We took on board as many as there was a prospect of our being able to consume. Guanos of various sizes and colors, are exceedingly numerous here. They are said to be as delicate and agreeable food as the chicken; but the ship's company had the same antipathy to them, which is so universal with regard to snakes ; and while they had such a bountiful supply of fine fish and turtle, they had no disposition to try the guano. We traversed various parts of the island, and camped out one night, in search of water, but found none, though there were evidences of its being abundant at some seasons of the year.

Having satisfactorily accomplished the object of our visit, we sailed on the 8th of June for San Blas. While yet but a few miles from Albemarle Island, and going with a moderate breeze, during the first watch, the weather clear and the sea smooth, we experienced a very singular flaw of wind, which, without any warning, and without being felt on deck, or by the sails on the mainmast, carried the fore-topmast over the side, after which it became calm, and so continued for more than two hours.

In a few days after leaving the island, we came in sight of the coast, in the vicinity of Acapulco, and from that time, having delightful weather, we kept the land in sight every day, till our arrival in the bay of San Blas, on the 11th of July. It is very remarkable, and strongly indicative of the low state of the Spanish commerce in these seas, at this period, that, from the time of our departure from Valparaiso, to that of our arrival here, and sailing all the time not very distant from the most beautiful coast to navigate, in the world, we did not meet or see a vessel of any description.

Our reception at San Blas formed a contrast to that experienced on arriving at Valparaiso. A friendly welcome from those in authority, and encouragement to expect that our wants would be supplied ; and though this welcome was from subalterns, and might not be sanctioned by their superiors, it was, nevertheless, viewed by us as a favorable omen. At this season of the year, San Blas is a very unhealthy residence; and in consequence, it is the practice of the Governor, the Commissary of the Arsenal, and the most opulent of the inhabitants to reside at Tipec, a healthy and pleasant town, about twenty leagues distant, in the interior. Notice of our arrival having been sent to them, the Commissary came down immediately; and on a first interview with him, we had much reason to flatter ourselves, that the current of our affairs would meet with less obstruction, than we had hitherto experienced. There was no hesitation on his part, in engaging to supply us with every thing our necessities required; and ascertaining we had some boxes of tin plate, which was exceedingly wanted, he engaged to take these in payment, at a very great advance on its cost. This arrangement being made with the Commissary, required the sanction of the Governor before it could be carried into effect.

Our friend Rouissillon, being very desirous of visiting Mexico, was determined, on this account, no less than from the desire of obtaining permission from the Viceroy to dispose of our cargo here, to leave no effort untried to obtain the requisite passport. With this view, he accompanied the Commissary to Tipec, on his return thither. By a letter from him, dated a few days after his arrival, we had cause to apprehend, that obstacles to our success would be in no degree less than those we had experienced at Valparaiso. The Governor, he represented to be a proud, vain, and very passionate man, unaccustomed to any opposition to his will, and indignant that the Commissary should have presumed to enter into any engagement with us, without first consulting him. He had, therefore, refused to confirm the doings of the Commissary, positively forbidden the landing of the tin, and decided that our supplies must be paid for by a draft on the American ambassador at Madrid.

We had now been the means of placing in hostile attitudes the two great officers of the government. The Commissary, whose appointment emanated from the same source as that of the Governor's, and whose line of duty was distinct and independent of him, was exceedingly mortified and piqued, at the attitude in which he was placed, and seemed determined not to submit to it. The Governor, who could not brook opposition to his will, was incapable of concealing his wrath; hence the quarrel became known, and was soon the all-absorbing topic of the inhabitants of Tipec. The feelings of the community became enlisted on one side or the other; but the preponderance was as greatly on the side of the Commissary, as the native population exceeded the foreign. Such general excitement, however, as this little affair had caused, was never before known in this hitherto quiet and dull town. An unfortunate lieutenant in the army, who had the temerity to say a word in disapprobation of the course of the Governor, was immediately ordered under arrest.

While the chiefs and populace of Tipec were engaged in an angry controversy on our account, we had passed a week, free from annoyance, at San Blas; where we had procured a new topmast, filled our water-casks, and obtained all the supplies we had asked. But it became very evident, that the rancorous hostility of the Governor would effectually prevent the disposal of any part of our cargo, notwithstanding the aid which the Commissary was disposed to give us. Indeed, without any reference to payment, and at the same time with the receipt of the supplies, was received an order for our immediately leaving the port, accompanied with a threat, in case of disobedience, of ordering out the gun-boats to drive us away. The possibility of such an event had been anticipated, and its injurious effects guarded against, by an understanding with Rouissillon, that we should go to the Three Maria Islands, which are about sixty miles distant, and there remain until his return from Mexico, for which city he was in momentary expectation of receiving a passport, and where, he had great encouragement to believe, he should obtain permission to dispose of our cargo, or at least of some part of it. Of the result of his negotiation, he would inform us by a boat, which should be despatched to the Islands, immediately on his return to San Blas, which, it was supposed, would be in the course of six or eight weeks.

There being no further cause for remaining here, we readily obeyed the order of the Governor, without putting him to the trouble of enforcing it; and, having signed duplicate receipts for the amount of our supplies, we sailed, in the evening of the 1st of August, as soon as the land breeze came off. The next day we anchored in a beautiful, smooth, sandy bay, on the north side of the middle island, at about two cables' length from the shore, and perfectly secure from the violence of the southeast winds, which, at this season of the year, blow occasionally with great force. Here we again enjoyed the great pleasure of uncontrolled action; and here, without molestation, we improved the opportunity of overhauling the rigging, repairing the sails, brushing up the vessel, and procuring a good supply of fuel, which was very abundant, of good quality, and obtained with great ease. In the performance of these necessary labors, with alternate periods of recreation on shore, we had consumed five weeks ; and then, desirous of changing the scene, we visited the northern island of the group, and found as good anchorage in a bay, on the eastern side of this island, as that we had just left. After passing nearly a week at this beautiful island, we returned to our former anchorage, at the middle island, in the hope and expectation of seeing the messenger from Rouissillon the following week. But the following, and even the tenth week, since leaving San Blas, passed away ; and the messenger failed to make his appearance.

We made excursions on shore, every day, for the 1
advantage of exercise and recreation, and frequently permitted the crew to do the same, one half at a time. The underwood formed an impassable barrier, which prevented our penetrating to the interior in any other way than by the gullies, which had been made by the rains. It was unusual for my friend Shaler and myself to leave the vessel at the same time, because we had not much confidence in the mate ; but, occasionally, this precaution was neglected. On one of those days, when we were on shore together, we were astonished, in emerging from the woods, to perceive our ship, under sail, a long way to leeward, and standing out to sea. Although the wind blew strong, yet it was off shore ; consequently, the water was smooth, and there was no reason to suppose the cable had parted. The idea, therefore, suggested itself to our minds, simultaneously, that the mate was going off with the ship.

With such an impression, on a desert island, without a boat, without provisions, and destitute of a change of clothing, our situation may easily be imagined to have been a forlorn one. Watching, therefore, with intense interest, in the hope of seeing the ship tack, and perceiving that she kept on her course seaward, until her hull was scarcely discernible, we began to believe in the correctness of our first impressions, and to despair of again controlling the destiny of the Lelia Byrd, when we had the great satisfaction of seeing her wear round, and stand in for the anchorage. In about six hours from the time of parting the cable, she again cast anchor in the bay, and we were rejoiced to find our suspicions misplaced. It appeared that the anchorage was less clear than we had supposed, and that the cable had been chafed off.

Such a protracted state of suspense and uncertainty had become extremely irksome and embarrassing. With the great loss of time and consequent expense, our provisions and stores were daily diminishing, without our perceiving how or where they could be replaced. It had become therefore indispensable, that a decision should not be delayed, as to our next move; and the choice was presented, of going away without hearing from Rouissillon, or of risking the effect of the Governor's hostility, by again entering the roadstead of San Blas. The latter appearing to us to be the least of the two difficulties, when viewed as connected with the disposal of our cargo, we acted in conformity. Our advances, when nearing the port, were made with caution; and every preparation was made to repel any force that might be sent to molest us. In the afternoon of the 14th day of October, being nearly up with the remarkable rock at the western entrance of the bay of San Blas, it was considered to be most prudent not to anchor. We therefore lay by all night in sight of the town, using all requisite caution against being taken by surprise.

Early the following morning, we perceived a canoe approaching us, paddled by Indians; and, soon after, they were alongside, and handed us the long expected letter from Rouissillon. It was dated at Guadalaxara, on his way to Mexico; and its contents were of the most encouraging character. He had been treated with great kindness and hospitality by many of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, whence his letter was dated. He had received a very civil letter from the Viceroy, accompanied with a passport for the capital, and a permission to sell, at San Blas, a sufficient amount of the cargo to pay for the supplies with which we had been provided, and expressed a confidence of success in obtaining permission to sell the whole cargo, and to return to San Blas, in the course of a week or ten days. This was, indeed, intelligence of a very exhilarating character, and tended to annihilate those forebodings of failure, for which, before the receipt of this letter, there was but too great cause. Among other items, Rouissillon informed us, that, in consequence of the combined representation of the Commissary and himself, backed by several of the most respectable people of Tipec, of the very uncivil and rude treatment of the Governor, towards citizens of a power in amity with Spain, he had been reprimanded by the Viceroy. Being in feeble health, this circumstance, combined with the vexation produced by perceiving himself to be out-generalled by the Commissary, acting upon an exceedingly irritable temperament, had produced a fever, which terminated his existence, about a week previous to the date of the letter.

Having despatched the Indians with a reply to Rouissillon's letter, we again returned to our old anchorage at the northern island; for, notwithstanding there was now no longer any danger in lying at anchor near San Blas, yet, as the regulations made it imperative, that we should receive a guard on board while there, it was considered to be worth all the trouble of going to the islands, if only to be emancipated from this incumbrance. Our excursions over them had been so often repeated, that there seemed to be no other inducement to penetrate into their woods than a desire for exercise. A deviation from the general monotony of our situation occurred, one day, in the taking of an enormous fish. A school of them had been, several hours, gambolling about the bay, sometimes throwing themselves wholly out of the water, and coming down into it again with a splash and foam, which might be heard at the distance of a mile. As they approached our anchorage, the mate and two men went in the jolly-boat, and succeeded in throwing the harpoon into one of them. The monster, feeling the wound, darted off, seaward, like a shot. As soon as he had taken off about twenty fathoms of whale line, the end of which was made fast to the boat, he carried off the boat with such prodigious velocity, that it was only by good steering, and keeping her in a direct line with his course, that she was prevented from swamping. It was an amusing spectacle to see the boat going off with such great rapidity, and for such a distance, without perceiving the propelling power. At length, after having run about a mile, he became exhausted; and the men in the boat hauled in the line, until they came up with him, when they contrived to get his head towards the island; and after a moment, as it were to breathe, he returned with almost equal velocity. When near the island, they hauled up to him, and, by beating him with the oars, drove him on shore. He was supposed to be a sunfish, in shape not unlike a flounder, and weighed seven or eight hundred pounds.

The beautiful group of islands, called, from their number, the Three Marias, where we had passed so many weeks, presents to the view, from the shore to their summits, a thicket of trees and underwood of the most luxuriant verdure. So strongly interlaced is this underwood, that it is impenetrable; and it is only through the deep ravines made by the rains, that any part of the interior can be reached. These islands abound with rabbits, raccoons, turtles, wild pigeons, parrots, parroquets, and various kinds of beautiful small birds. Wood suitable for fuel, is procurable in any quantity, with moderate labor. Among the hard woods, lignumvitæ is very abundant. Water is procurable only at the issue of the ravines, after a considerable rain, excepting at the eastern side of the northern island, where there is a well, which never failed to yield us an abundant supply.

The time agreed upon, for our return to San Blas, having arrived, we again proceeded thither, and anchored in the roads, on the 20th of October. The usual guard were immediately sent on board, the sergeant of which was the bearer of a polite note from the Commandant of the Resguardo, desiring to be informed of the object of our return. A visit from him, almost simultaneously, superseded the necessity of a reply, as he immediately acknowledged it to be only a piece of necessary formality without meaning. There was a general freedom and ease observable in his manner, which formed a contrast with that manifested at our previous visit ; from which we inferred, that the new Governor was of a character less severe and exacting than his predecessor, and, consequently, that we might indulge a hope of being permitted to proceed in the accomplishment of our business, without encountering any new obstacles.

By a letter from Rouissillon, dated at Mexico, we found, that there was cause to apprehend that he had been too sanguine of success. His memorial to the Viceroy had not produced the desired effect ; and an order, that the Governor should demand of us a list of the stores which we needed, and that, as soon as they were supplied, we should leave the port, presented but discouraging prospects for the result of his efforts at Mexico. In reply to the Governor, we expressed regret at our inability to specify the quantity of the stores required, from not having been informed by Mr. Rouissillon for what destination he intended the ship. Delay was our object, while any chance of success presented itself ; and before we could act on the Governor's letter, we had the pleasure of learning from our friend, that a second memorial, accompanied by a judicious application of a small *douceur*, had been the means of obtaining leave for the disposal of goods to the amount of ten thousand dollars. At the same time, it was intimated, that, by agreeing to sell the cargo at a trifling advance on the invoice, and to particular persons, a permission might be obtained to dispose of the whole ; i. e. that if we would consent to give up the profit we were seeking to those who had influence with government, they would obtain the requisite permission. Rouissillon, however, declined the proposal, justly concluding that, with the above permission, as great an amount of profit might be made on one half the invoice, as the whole would produce by acceding to it.

On his return from Mexico, Mr. Rouissillon passed a fortnight at Tipec, endeavouring to find purchasers for the cargo, but without success. He arrived at San Blas on the 10th of December, and the next day we opened our sale ; but, unfortunately for us, the permission was so limited, that the merchants of Guadalaxara did not consider it an object sufficiently great to induce them to come on ; those of Tipec were very inconsiderable in number and means, and consequently the sale advanced heavily.

We had now reached the twelfth day of the new year (1803), and the prospects of a favorable result of our enterprise were very small. A peremptory order for our immediate departure was received from the Governor, who observed that, presuming we should readily obey it, he had written to the Viceroy to this effect ; and, therefore, exacted a compliance. This order would have been obeyed without hesitation, but for a new object, of sufficient magnitude to induce as to take the risk of a quarrel for its attainment. An arrival from California had brought a quantity of sea otters' skins, which we hoped to be able to purchase ; but, as the owner of them was at Mexico, a few days was necessarily required for the negotiation. We therefore remonstrated with the Governor, urged the impossibility of obedience to his order, and requested the liberty of remaining a few days longer. As the Governor declined taking this responsibility wholly on his own shoulders, he called a council of officers, who came to the determination that we might remain ten days longer. This was sufficient for our purpose. We succeeded in purchasing sixteen hundred sea otters' skins, on such advantageous terms, that it would secure our voyage from loss, even if we made no further sales.

The Governor could but ill conceal his vexation at our refusal to obey his order for our departure; and we were, therefore, not free from apprehension that he had some sinister design in consenting to our remaining longer. Various reports were in circulation tending to induce us to be at all times on our guard. The rumor of there being a body of custom-house guards on their way hither from Guadalaxara, whose object was to search our vessel for money, was so current, and appeared to be so probable, that we were induced to agree on a mode of proceeding, in the event of such an attempt. Mr. Shaler's superior knowledge of the Spanish language made it desirable that he should stay on shore to transact the business there, while I remained on board to attend to the duties, and, as far as practicable, to secure the safety of the ship; for, as an apology for wearing away the time until our object was accomplished, we had rigged a mizzenmast, and converted our brig into a ship. As, in the event of any hostile movement on the part of the Spaniards, it was not probable that he could obtain such timely notice of it, as to effect a retreat, it was agreed, that on seeing them approach, I should get the ship under way, carrying off the Spanish guard, and lie by at a moderate distance, where I could make reasonable terms for the exchange of prisoners.

While in this state of apprehension, and about the time it was supposed the guards from Guadalaxara would arrive, the men in our boat, which brought off the day's provisions, reported that there were two large launches at the landing, ready manned. The men were lying on their oars, apparently waiting the arrival of their officers, and said they were going on board our vessel for a hawser we had borrowed. Two launches with twenty men each, to carry on shore a hawser, was a very improbable story; and as I could imagine no other cause, than that of putting into execution the rumored search, I immediately made all preparation to avoid it. But, as it was exceedingly desirable to avoid a collision, if possible, I caused all the sails to be loosed, the topsails to be sheeted home, and the cable to be hove short. With great anxiety, I watched the setting in of the sea-breeze, which was unusually late; but, at length, came with much force, and dissipated our apprehensions. Desirous of being relieved from so unpleasant a state of suspense, I despatched the jolly-boat with a letter to Shaler, informing him of my suspicions, the measures I had taken, and my determination to be off, if the jolly-boat did not return before the sea breeze began to abate. As the guard could not avoid seeing our preparations, I advised him to anticipate any thing they might communicate to the Governor, by stating the facts to him in person.

Whatever may have been intended, nothing was done; our men performed their errand and returned on board unmolested. The next day the Commandant made us a visit in the government felucca of twenty oars, and with the royal flag displayed. After rowing round the vessel, as he said, to see how she looked rigged as a ship, he came on board, and partook of a collation, which had been prepared during the time he was engaged in reconnoitring our vessel without and within. We observed him to be particularly attentive to our armament, and his inquiries relative to the number of small-arms we had on board, &c., led us to believe that the object of his visit was to ascertain our strength.

Apprehensive that we might be pounced upon, at any moment, by an overwhelming force, but presuming that they would wait until we were nearly ready to depart, as then the prize would be most valuable, and our culpability most palpable, it was important that the Commandant should be kept ignorant of our intention. When he asked, therefore, if we intended going the following day, we suggested to him that we could not settle our accounts with the Commissary in time for that purpose, to the truth of which he assented. As a further evidence of the necessity of another day's delay, we referred to the large bulk and amount of merchandise, yet on shore.

This merchandise, to the value of about three thousand dollars, was intended to be left in charge of Rouissillon, to be sold for our account; and the proceeds to be settled for when we should meet in the United States. Although no permission was obtained from the Governor for taking the sea otters' skins on board, yet, as they were under the charge of the Commissary, from whom we received them, there was no obstacle to it. It was nearly dark by the time we had received the last of them on board; and then the Commissary was very urgent, that we should not delay a moment unnecessarily before putting to sea; as he was apprehensive, that, if the transaction became generally known, it would involve him, as well as ourselves, in trouble. However friendly this advice, it was not needed, as our preparations were already made to be away, as soon as the object, for which we had been so solicitous, was secured. We therefore sent the guard ashore in the launch that brought off the skins ; and were away under a crowd of sail, before even the launch could have reached the shore. As the Commandant had no doubt of our intention to remain another day, if his designs were what we had strong reason to suspect, he must have been greatly disappointed in the morning, to discover, that "the bird had flown."

It was with feelings of deep regret, that we parted, here, with our excellent and amiable friend the Count John de Rouissillon, with whom we had been so intimately associated for so long a period, and who had shared so largely in the various perplexing scenes, incident to the prosecution of our object. To his address and perseverance we were mainly indebted for the permission obtained from the Viceroy of Mexico, for the sale of a part of our cargo ; and for the indulgence of the additional time in port, necessary to secure the sea otters' skins. We had left with him, manufactures to the amount of about three thousand dollars cost ; and which were worth, at the actual prices there, more than three times that cost. From the proceeds of this, after defraying his expenses, he was to account with us in the United States, where we anticipated much pleasure in meeting him, in the course of the ensuing year. At parting, he expressed the unalloyed enjoyment he had experienced on board, his grateful feelings for our confidence, and his earnest desire of realizing the pleasure of meeting us again in that land of liberty and of equal rights, of which, he said, he should be proud to become a citizen.

The Count de Rouissillon was the descendant of an ancient noble family of Poland. An advocate for liberty, he could not brook the subjugation of his country; and for his efforts to avert it, he was proscribed, and was without a home when we became acquainted with him at Hamburgh. He possessed a powerful intellect, and gave evidence, that great care had been taken in its cultivation. His acquirements in mathematics, in astronomy, in music, in drawing, were very respectable, and there was scarcely a European language with which he was not familiar. Having with him, among others, books in the Russian, Polish, and German languages, the Spanish authorities, who are extremely watchful and rigorous in their examination of all books, were actually confounded by them; but allowed them to pass, on the well-grounded conviction, that nobody in the country could read them, and, therefore, that they could do no harm. For these attainments he was not more indebted to a fine intellect than to an untiring industry, which was so habitual, that he seemed to grudge a moment's time that was passed without adding something to his knowledge. So that when walking the deck for exercise, if there was nobody to walk and converse with him, he would be engaged in practising some new music on his flute. Being at this time only twenty-eight years of age, his prospect for honorable distinction seemed all that his ambition could desire; but, unfortunately, his earthly course was cut short not long after we parted. To our great grief we learned, on arriving in the United States, that he died at Mexico some time in the year 1803.

The exclusive policy of the Spanish government, relating to all foreigners, then in full operation, made it so difficult to obtain any information from Mexico, that we were discouraged from any attempt to ascertain the particulars of his death, or to learn what became of our property, or of his effects; and, to this day, we remain in ignorance of every thing relating to these subjects.

The day after our departure from San Blas we anchored once more in the bay of the northern Island of the Three Marias on the 26th of January, 1803. More than fifteen months had elapsed since our departure from Europe, and our vessel being coppered to light-water mark only, we now perceived that the worms had made dreadful havoc with the wooden sheathing. It therefore had become necessary to careen and boot-top the vessel; an operation for which we were but poorly prepared; and, therefore, in the performance of it, and in replenishing our stock of wood and water, a fortnight was consumed.

Here we accidentally found out that our danger of being seized at San Blas had been much greater than we had apprehended, from a cause of which we had no suspicion, and therefore could not guard against, the treachery of the chief mate. This officer was a young Englishman, whose conduct, after leaving Valparaiso, was so reprehensible as to make it necessary to suspend him from duty; but he occupied his place at our table, was permitted to go on shore when he pleased, and was treated with proper civility. From some intimations which he occasionally threw out to the men, that he had forborne to cause the vessel to be seized, and that he had been offered a thousand dollars for his journal, it immediately occurred to us that he had been more intimate with the authorities of San Blas, than was consistent with our safety; and if so, that we ought to know it, to guard against the future. As it seemed to be the most direct way of proving his guilt or his innocence, and a measure that was justifiable, on the principle of self-preservation, we had no hesitation in seizing his papers. These we found to consist of a few letters and his sea journal.

On examining the journal, we perceived it had been mutilated, and dates only previous to our arrival at Valparaiso, and subsequent to our leaving there remained. Hence there was strong presumptive evidence, that the intermediate portion, relating to our transactions at Valparaiso, was in possession of the government of San Blas. Amongst the letters there was only one that related to us. This was a letter of introduction from the Commandant to a friend at Macao, in which he speaks of our ingratitude to him, and of his having so committed himself in his endeavour to be serviceable to us, that he was unable to act as duty required, from the fear of consequences, &c. He also recommends his friend to give more credence to any representation which the bearer might make to him, than to those of the captain.

This investigation satisfied us, that we had escaped seizure by the mere accident of the mate's not making his communication to the Commandant until this officer had become so much a party in the transaction, as to make his own safety depend on its concealment. Our suspicions of his hostile intentions, therefore, may have been erroneous, and our hurried departure unnecessary; but if we erred, it will be acknowledged to have been on the side of prudence.

CHAPTER XIV.

Notice of San Blas. — Domestic Indians. — Circulation of Revolutionary Papers. — Sail from the Three Maria Islands. — St. Clement's. — Indians. — Arrive at San Diego. — Commandant Rodriguez visits the Ship. — Leaves a Guard on Board — A Visit to the Fort. — Ship Alexander. — Fail in purchasing the Skins. — Detention of our Men. — Rescue. — Disarm the Guard on Board. — Prepare for War. — Get under Sail to go out. — Fire of the Fort. — Returned. — Pass by the Fort. — Put the Guards on Shore. — Arrive at St. Quintin's. — Visit of Missionaries. — Corporal's Letter. — Padres' Opinion of Rodriguez. — Leave St. Quintin's — Notice of it. — Guadaloupe. — San Borja. — Padre Mariano Apolonario. — His Character. — Procure Horses. — Our Farewell. — Arrive at St. Joseph's. — Obtain Supplies. — Sail for the Sandwich Islands.

Our opportunity for becoming acquainted with San Blas and its environs, had been even greater than we desired ; and a short notice of it may be proper in this place. San Blas is a port and royal arsenal, in the province of New Gallicia, in the Viceroyalty of Mexico, in latitude 21° 36′ north. The port, formed by a branch of the river Santiago, and an island to the southwestward, is of small capacity, very narrow, and perfectly secure. A bar, at its entrance, on which there is not usually more than fourteen feet of water, makes it necessary, before attempting to enter, to lighten the vessel, in the road, to ten or eleven feet, or, in proportion as the swell may be on the bar, at the time of going over it. It is defended by two batteries ; the one, of eight guns, on an eminence of the island; the other on the beach abreast the town, besides several gun-boats. The road is perfectly safe for ships, while the northwest winds are prevalent, which is from November to April. During the other months of the year, when the southeast winds prevail, which sometimes blow with great force, it is not safe lying there. At this season, also, the thunder-squalls are frequent, and are the most awfully sublime that can be imagined. On one night, in particular, for the space of three hours, there was scarce a moment's intermission between the claps of thunder; the roar of which, by drowning the voices, made it requisite to substitute signs for performing the duty of giving the ship more cable. The lightning was incessant and vivid, running in currents down the rigging and fore and aft the ship, and apparently would have enveloped her in flames, but for the torrents of water, which were at the same time falling. The scene was, by far, a more awful one of the kind, than I ever witnessed before or since; and we considered ourselves very fortunate in escaping all other mischief than that of dragging our anchor a mile or two.

The town is situated on a hill, commanding a fine view of the bay, from which it makes a pretty appearance. This impression, however, is not confirmed on entering it, the houses being generally very ordinary structures, and the streets very dirty. There are about five thousand inhabitants, including the seven hundred usually attached to the arsenal. The annual expense of the arsenal, at this time, was about half a million of dollars. The commerce of San Blas is, indeed, trifling, there being only three small merchant vessels owned here. The most valuable production of the neighbouring country is the red cedar, which is of large size, and very abundant. This is used for the building of ships, for the masts and spars, for boats, oars, houses, and, indeed, for every thing. From the month of June until September, the climate of San Blas is considered to be so unhealthy, that all, who have the ability to remove, go to Tipec, which is situated in the highlands, about sixty miles distant.

The domestic Indians, in the neighbourhood of San Blas and Tipec, are beginning to manifest signs of discontent and insubordination, which are alarming to the Spanish authorities. An insurrection was quelled, last year, which came near to annihilating the Spanish supremacy in this quarter. An alarm was given while we were here. All was bustle and activity; and all the able men, with field pieces, &c., were ordered to Tipec, near which the attack was expected. It is understood, that the Indians are instigated by Creole Spaniards, who, incapable of longer supporting their oppression, are ready to make use of such auxiliaries to effect their emancipation. A spirit of discontent and alienation towards the government seems to pervade the whole Viceroyalty of Mexico. This was confirmed by our letters from Rouissillon, while at Mexico, who mentions, that inflammatory and revolutionary addresses to the people are currently circulated in the city, one of which was handed to him while at the theatre. It was written in the French language. Its purport was to make known to the citizens their rights; to show them how they were violated and trampled upon; and to suggest, that the remedy was in their own hands. With a view of giving such aid as we supposed might be useful, we sent them copies of our Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution of the United States.

Having succeeded in the completion of our object at the Three Maria Islands, we left on the 14th of February, bound to San Diego, in California, where we had information of there being a parcel of sea otters' skins, which might be obtained advantageously. It being the season of the prevalence of strong northerly winds, our passage was long and tedious. On the morning of the 16th of March, we were becalmed near St. Clement's Island, where, perceiving a smoke, we landed abreast of it, and found that it proceeded from a cave formed, in the side of a hill, by some overhanging rocks and earth, but insufficient to afford shelter from the weather, with any other than northerly winds. In this miserable domicil, resided eleven persons, men, women, and children; and though the temperature was such as to make our woollen garments requisite, they were all in a state of perfect nudity. Their food was exclusively fish, and having no cooking utensils, their only resource was baking them in the earth. We could not perceive, that they possessed a word of any other dialect than their own, of which we understood nothing. I had been familiar with the Indians inhabiting various parts of the western coast of America, but never saw any so miserable, so abject, so spiritless, so nearly allied to the brute.

Leaving this wretched family, after distributing among them a few articles of old clothing, we stood to the eastward, under easy sail, all night, and found ourselves, early in the morning, abreast of the port of San Diego. A brisk northerly wind prevented our gaining the anchorage till the afternoon, when, having passed near the battery without being hailed, we came to anchor about a mile within it. The next day, the Commandant, Don Manuel Rodriguez, with an escort of twelve dragoons, came down abreast of the ship, and requested that the boat might be sent for him. This being done immediately, he crowded the boat with his escort, and probably regretted the necessity of leaving on shore his horses. We had been told at San Blas, that Don Manuel was an exceedingly vain and pompous man; and, indeed, we found him so; for such a ridiculous display of a "little brief authority," and pompous parade, I never before witnessed. His dress and every movement evinced the most arrant coxcomb. Having saluted us on coming over the ship's side, he waited, before proceeding aft, until his escort were drawn up in two lines, with hats off in one hand, and drawn swords in the other, and then passed between them to the companion way. After the ordinary inquiries, of whence we came, whither bound, and the object of our visit, he called to the officer of the escort, and desired him to take a minute of the articles we required. With these he said that he would supply us the next day; on receiving which, he should expect we would not delay a moment in leaving the port. He counted our men, and, perceiving us to be only fifteen, all told, expressed astonishment at the presumption of undertaking so long and dangerous a navigation with so few men. He forbade our going to the town, which is distant about three miles, but gave us leave to go on shore in the neighbourhood of the vessel. He took leave with characteristic pomp, leaving on board five of his escort, as he said, to see that we carried on no contraband trade.

In the afternoon, we made an excursion on shore;

and, having rambled towards the battery, which commands the entry of the port, without meeting with any person to prevent our entering it, we availed ourselves of the opportunity to ascertain its strength and state. We found eight brass nine-pounders, mounted on carriages, which appeared to be in good order, and a plentiful supply of ball ; but there was no appearance of their having been used for a long time. As the examination of a battery belonging to a people the most jealous and suspicious on earth, was a delicate business, we did not remain long within its precincts, and, having had an agreeable excursion, returned on board at sunset. In the evening we made acquaintance with our guard, the sergeant of which appeared to be an intelligent young man. He informed us, that, only a few days past, the ship Alexander, of Boston, Captain Brown, had been there ; that he had succeeded in purchasing from the soldiers and people several hundred skins ; that information of it had been given to the Commandant, who, without first demanding their surrender, boarded the ship with an armed force, made a search, and took away all the skins they could find, together with some merchandise. These skins, he said, were now in possession of the Commandant, which, with what he had of his own, probably exceeded a thousand. These, we made every effort to obtain from him ; and, though there is no doubt, that he would have been as well pleased to sell, as we should have been to purchase them, if the transaction had been practicable without being known to the people, yet, as this was out of the question, and they were all spies on each other, he dared not indulge his desire of selling them to us. Had Brown negotiated with the Commandant first, it is most probable he would have obtained the whole quantity, and, at the same time, have avoided the humiliating predicament of having his ship taken possession of by the rabble.

It was evident now, that the object for which we came here was unattainable. Having, on the 21st of March, received the supplies we had asked, the Commandant again visited us, in the same pompous style, to receive his pay. On leaving us he made known his expectation, that we would leave the port next morning, wished us a pleasant voyage, and we parted on the most friendly terms. We had been offered a number of skins, in small parcels, in the course of the day, to be delivered to us after dark, and determined to purchase as many as we could that night. Accordingly, between eight and nine o'clock, (the time agreed on,) both boats were despatched to different parts of the harbour, one of which returned in proper time with several skins; but the other, in which was the mate and two men, did not return that night. That some disaster had occurred to prevent her return, was presumable, but to attempt ascertaining the cause, in the night, would have been incurring too great a risk. We watched the approach of morning, with a view to seize and act upon any contingency that circumstances might present, before the moving of the people.

The first discovery after dawn, was that of our boat, lying on the beach, abreast of our vessel, with, apparently, no person in her. On seeing this, I went immediately to the boat, and, when there, perceived a group of men at a short distance, among whom ours were discernible. Being without arms, an attempt to rescue them would have been imprudent. I therefore returned on board, taking with me the other boat. It was now very evident, that not a moment was to be lost in deciding on the course to be pursued. The choice presented us, was that of submission, indignant treatment, and plunder; or resistance and hazarding the consequences. There was not the least hesitation with Mr. Shaler or myself, in adopting the latter alternative. As a preliminary step, the guard on board were disarmed, and made to go below; then I went with four men, each with a brace of loaded pistols, to the rescue of those on shore. On landing, we ran up to the guard and, presenting our pistols, ordered them instantly to release our men from their ligatures; for they had been tied hand and foot, and had been lying on the ground all night. This order was readily complied with by the three soldiers, who had been guarding them; and, to prevent mischief, we took away their arms, dipped them in the water, and left them on the beach. The mate reported, that they were arrested immediately on landing, by a party of horse, with the Commandant in person, at their head; whence we concluded, that he had sent the soldier, with whom we made the agreement for the skins, expressly to decoy us, that he might have an apology to plunder us.

Arriving safely on board, we perceived our men to be so indignant at the treatment of their shipmates, as to be ready for the fight, even had the odds been greater against us. We had, however, a disagreeable and very hazardous task to perform; a failure in which, would be attended with ruin to us, besides subjecting us to the humiliating treatment of an incensed petty tyrant. Our position, at anchor, was about a mile within the fort, of which mention has been made. It was necessary to pass within musket-shot of this fort. With a strong wind, the quick passage of the vessel would render the danger trifling; but, unfortunately, we had now but the last expiring breath of the land breeze, sufficient only to give the ship steerage way, and an hour would elapse before we could presume on passing the fort; but no other alternative was left us, that did not present a more dreaded aspect.

While making our preparations, we perceived, that all was bustle and animation on shore; both horse and foot were flocking to the fort. Our six three-pounders, which were all brought on the side of the ship bearing on the fort, and our fifteen men was all our force, with which to resist a battery of six nine-pounders and, at least, an hundred men. As soon as our sails were loosed and we began to heave up the anchor, a gun without shot was discharged from the battery and the Spanish flag hoisted; perceiving no effect from this, they fired a shot ahead. By this time our anchor was up, all sail was set, and we were gradually approaching the fort. In the hope of preventing their firing, we caused the guard in their uniforms to stand along in the most exposed and conspicuous station; but it had no effect, not even when so near the fort, that they must have been heard imploring them to desist firing, and seen to fall with their faces to the deck, at every renewed discharge of the cannon. We had been subjected to a cannonade of three quarters of an hour, without returning a shot, and, fortunately, with injury only to our rigging and sails. When arrived abreast the fort, several shot struck our hull, one between wind and water, which was temporarily stopped by a wad of oakum. We now opened our fire, and, at the first broadside, saw numbers, probably of those who came to see the fun, scampering away up the hill at the back of the fort. Our second broadside seemed to have caused the complete abandonment of their guns, as none were fired afterwards; nor could we see any person in the fort, excepting a soldier who stood upon the ramparts, waving his hat, as if to desire us to desist firing.

Having passed out of the reach of their cannon, the poor guards, who had been left on board, saw themselves completely in our power, without the chance of rescue, and probably calculated on such treatment as they knew would have been our lot, if equally in the power of their Commandant. Their exhibition of fear was really ludicrous, for, while we were tying up their fire-arms, so as to prevent their using them, and getting the boat ready to send them harmlessly on shore, they were all the time tremblingly imploring for mercy; nor could they be made to believe, until they were actually on shore, that we intended to do them no harm. When landed and their arms handed to them, they embraced each other, crossed themselves, and fell on their knees in prayer. As our boat was leaving them, they rose up and cried at the utmost stretch of their voices, "*Vivan, vivan los Americanos.*"

Having plugged up the hole made by the shot, near the water, we steered southward for the bay of St. Quintin's, and arrived there on the 24th instant. Here we fell in with Captain Brown, in the ship Alexander, who gave us a detail of the rough manner in which he had been treated by the Commandant of San Diego, which confirmed us in the propriety of the measures we had pursued to avoid a similar treatment. Captain

Brown left us on the 5th of April, bound to the Northwest Coast. This was the only American ship we had seen since leaving Valparaiso, and the meeting was very agreeable to both parties; indeed, a countryman abroad is hailed like an old acquaintance, and there is always a consciousness of belonging to the same home, which makes such meeting pleasant in any part of the world, and is particularly felt when, as in this instance, we had escaped similar dangers, and were among a people remarkable for treachery and hostility to strangers. We therefore viewed his departure with feelings somewhat allied to that of taking leave of an old friend.

A few days after arriving here, we were visited by the Padres of the missions of San Vincente, San Domingo, San Rosario, and San Fernando, who came on horses, with a retinue of Indian domestics, making quite a formidable train. The Commandante of San Vincente, a mission about sixty miles north of this port, accompanied the Padre of that mission, and they formed together a jolly set of fellows. Their object seemed to be principally recreation, though they brought a few sea otters' skins, which they bartered with us for European manufactures. They pitched their tents on the beach, abreast the vessel, and, having provided themselves with an abundant supply of provisions and the requisite cooking utensils, they became quite domiciliated. Never was there an equal number of men more disposed to promote harmony and good fellowship, and we dined together alternately on shore and on board, during the week that they remained with us.

As, for several days after their arrival, they did not mention the affair of San Diego, we supposed they might not have heard of it; yet, as St. Vincente was so near, it would be strange if the news of an event so novel and extraordinary should not have reached them. After the acquaintance had been promoted, however, by a few days of such familiar intercourse, we were asked, by the eldest of the Padres, if we had not been to San Diego? With the peculiarity attributed to New Englanders, our answer was evasive, and the question put, "Why?" He then told us of an American, who had been there since Brown, and related our transactions there so precisely as they occurred, that we acknowledged ourselves to have been the actors. He said, that the account of the affair was transmitted in a letter from the corporal, who commanded in the battery, to his senior officer at Loretto, and that the letter was left unsealed, that it might be read at the several missions on its way, and to be sealed at the last mission before arriving at Loretto. While the corporal, in his letter, was severe in his strictures on the conduct of the Commandant, in first enticing us into this difficulty, and then taking care not to enter the fort until he ascertained, that we were out of reach of cannon shot, he was profuse in his eulogies of us. Our forbearance so long before returning their fire, our humanity and generosity to the guards, under such provocation, and our ceasing to fire when they did, were considered by the corporal as acts of magnanimity, which should recommend us to the kindness and hospitality of all good Spaniards.

The Padres had been friendly before this acknowledgment, but they seemed afterwards to vie with each other, who should show us the greatest kindness, offering to procure us supplies in any quantity, and assuring us of meeting a hospitable reception at any of the missions we might visit in California. As they did not suppose, on leaving home, that we should be induced to remain long in a desert port, they had provided themselves with provisions for a week only; at the expiration of which, they left us, with a promise to return again in a fortnight, with a supply of such stores for ourselves, as we had given them a list of. Having, with ill-judged economy, coppered our vessel only to light-water mark, we perceived that the worm had already made dreadful ravages in our wooden sheathing, and that it was necessary to lay her ashore to cleanse and boot-top the bottom. The port being well adapted to such purpose, it was accomplished without difficulty. In the performance of this business, of repairing the injury sustained in our sails and rigging by the cannon shot, in the recreation of fishing and fowling, and in taking a plan of the port, the time was filled up until the fortnight agreed on had elapsed, when the Padres, true to the engagement, again made their appearance, with the stores required.

Although there was nothing now to cause us another day's detention, yet the Padres were so urgent for our remaining another week, alleging that they had brought provision with that expectation, that we could not resist their importunate persuasions. They were now desirous of being acquainted with some particulars of our affair at San Diego, which could be obtained only from us, such as to be showed the men who were captured and tied on shore; those who rescued them; if there was any attempt at resistance; the several places the shot had struck, &c. &c. We were very happy to be informed by them, that no person was even hurt by our shot. These good Padres, though very amiable, were very ignorant on all subjects, excepting that of their profession, and so intolerant and bigoted, as frequently to express astonishment, that men so humane and intelligent should be blind to the truth and beauty of Catholicism. In remarking, however, on the apparent amiability of these people, I ought to except the Padre of San Vincente, who, it must be acknowledged, had no just pretensions to such character, after boasting, as he did, that he had rendered God service by killing many of the Indians, who obstinately refused to be converted. They expressed great disgust with the character and conduct of Don Manuel Rodriguez, called him a poltroon, and said he would be broken ; not so much for having fired on a ship of a friendly power, as for undertaking what he was unequal to accomplish, thereby exposing the weakness of the place, and subjecting the royal flag to insult. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the éclat caused in Europe by the battle of Copenhagen, was greater than that of the battle of San Diego, in California.

The week we had engaged to pass with the Padres having expired on the 3d of May, we then, with reciprocal friendly salutations, and cordial interchange of good wishes for prosperity and happiness, bade them farewell and put to sea, bound to the Island of Guadaloupe, in the hope of there obtaining a supply of water, for that which we found at St. Quintin's was of an inferior quality, and was only obtained by digging a well. The want of this, and equally of wood, lessens much the value of this port. It is remarkable, considering the length of time the Spaniards have possessed this country, and the accuracy and ability with which their navigators generally have surveyed their possessions on this coast, that they are yet ignorant of this excellent harbour. It was discovered about the year 1800, by Captain O'Kain, of Boston. The entrance to it is so narrow and obscure, that had not Brown been here to direct us, it is doubtful if we had found it; yet we carried in not less than three fathoms, and anchored in four, in one of the safest harbours in the world. It is also very capacious, and abounding in the sea otter, of which, though very shy, we shot several. The shore, at short distances from the beach, is greatly infested with rattlesnakes.

Arriving at the Island of Guadaloupe on the 4th, the whole of the next day was passed in seeking for water on the lee side of the island, presuming from its height, that there was no doubt of success, but we were disappointed. There were various gullies, indicating abundance at certain seasons, which were now perfectly dry. Steering again to the eastward, we entered a small bay on that part of the coast, which is nearest the mission of San Borgia, and came to anchor. The next day we were visited by the Father of that mission, Mariano Apolonario, who had been expecting us some days, and had kept an Indian on the look-out for us, that he might be advised immediately on our arrival. Having received notice of our approach from the Indian, the day before our arrival, he had set out, though uncertain if we had anchored. As his mission was sixty miles from the seacoast, and he was accompanied by twenty domestics, with provisions and baggage laden on twenty-five horses and mules, he would have been greatly disappointed had we passed without anchoring, and therefore was gratified at a meeting, which he seemed to have counted much upon.

We made the best arrangement in our power for the accommodation of the Padre and his domestic; but, after passing one night on board, he experienced such inconvenience from the motion of the ship, as to make it desirable to provide some shelter for him on shore. Accordingly, in the morning a sail was taken on shore, with which our men made a large and commodious tent. Here our days were principally passed in conversation with the Padre, interrupted only by occasional rambles over the sand-hills, for exercise. Amongst the domestics of the Padre was that very useful and important appendage of a missionary, a very good cook; and, as he was provided with plenty of venison and poultry, whereon to exercise his skill, we perceived it to be as much for our advantage, as it was gratifying to the Padre, that we should dine with him every day. On these occasions we had neither plates nor dishes, knives nor forks; nor were they requisite, as the food was served up in a large wooden bowl, into which each in turn dipped his spoon, in true primitive style. A due degree of exercise in a fine bracing atmosphere, however, previous to taking these homely repasts, gave to them a relish which is not often experienced at the most luxurious and elegant tables.

Perceiving that water was not procurable in this vicinity, having but a short supply on board, and uncertain where it was to be obtained, there was obviously a necessity of cutting short our visit at this station. As soon as the Padre was made acquainted with it, he applied a remedy, by engaging to supply us with our daily consumption of water, although he had to send six miles for it, and this he did daily until our departure, besides providing abundance of fresh provisions for the ship's company.

The more intimately we became acquainted with Padre Mariano, the more we were convinced that his was a character to love and respect. He appeared to be one of that rare class, who, for piety and the love of their fellow-men, might justly rank with a Fenelon or a Cheverus. His countenance beaming with the love and benevolence, which were his prevailing motives of action, inspired immediate and perfect confidence, even with those who had seen as much of the Spanish character as it had been our lot to do. His mild and humane treatment of his domestics made their intercourse more like that of father and children, than of master and servants. His regular observance, morning, noon, and evening, of his devotional duties, with his uncouth looking domestics assembled round him, and on bended knee, and with the utmost decorum, participating in his prayers to the throne of grace, was affecting, and might be received as a tacit reproach for indifference to such duties, by that part of his audience, whom his brethren would denominate heretics. But this good man was gifted with a mind too liberal and noble, and a benevolence too extensive and pure, to pronounce condemnation for difference of opinions, or to believe in the monopoly of truth and goodness in any one sect of Christians.

Our visit here had been protracted much beyond our intentions, by the persuasions of the Padre, and the promise of two horses, which we had unsuccessfully endeavoured to procure at the other missions, as a present to the King of the Sandwich Islands. These arrived at the encampment on the 19th, a male and a female, and were presented to us by the Padre. In return for these, and a flagon of wine and some dried fruits, we gave him such manufactures as he desired, to more than their value. The next day we took the horses on board, and made preparation for our departure. As it was then late in the afternoon, and we could not consent to deprive the good Padre of his tent for the night, we remained on this account.

Early on the following morning, we went on shore and spent an hour with the Padre, while our men were engaged in striking the tent, and taking away the sail which had formed it. He expressed to us the great satisfaction he had experienced in our society, and regretted we could not pass another week with him, adding that our visit formed an epoch in his life; that at his mission he lived like a hermit, with no associates, except the rude Indian, and repeated that a visit like ours was "a God-send." On taking leave, he assured us, that we should always be remembered in his prayers, and accompanying us to the boat, repeated and vociferated his *á Dios*, until we were too distant to hear him more. With our glass, we perceived him to be waiting, after we had arrived on board; and he did not move off with his retinue until we had weighed anchor.

At 10 o'clock, A. M. we weighed anchor and made all sail to the southward, and in the evening perceived that we had steered too near the coast, being embayed to the northward of the Morro Hermoso, and were obliged to make a tack out of our course. The next day we passed between the Island Natividad and the Morro Hermoso; and steering to the southeast with a fine northwest wind, were up with and near Cape St. Lucas, in the evening of the 25th instant. Early the following morning, we came to anchor in the bay of St. Joseph, at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and near the mission of that name. A beautiful clear run of water, which emptied into the bay, and of sufficient depth to admit our boat, gave us great facility in filling up our water-casks. The Padres had no scruple in supplying us with such provision, vegetables, and fruits, as the place afforded, and were equally ready to trade with us to the extent of their means, which were rather limited. In addition to a supply of stores, we purchased of them pearls to the amount of two thousand dollars, and also a mare with foal. Having with much difficulty taken the latter on board, on the 28th of May, we sailed immediately for the Sandwich Islands.

CHAPTER XV.

Observations on leaving the Coast. — California. — Sandwich Islands. — Visit of the King. — Land the Horses. — Present them to the King. — His Estimation of them. — Visit Derby's Grave. — Leave the Islands. — Sketch of Tamaamaah. — Attempt at his Conversion. — A Practice of the Natives. — An Evidence of their Gallantry. — Instances of Atrocious Conduct of Americans. — Island of Guam. — A Visit from the Governor's Lady. — Sketch of the Island. — A Storm. — Arrival at Canton. — Dispose of One Half the Ship. — Mr. Shaler returns to California, and I embark in the Alert for Boston.

The relief and freedom from care, experienced by being once more beyond the reach of a power whose most dreaded arms are deceit, dissimulation, and treachery, are more easily imagined than described. Fifteen months had elapsed since our arrival at Valparaiso, and it will be seen, that in each of the three ports which we had entered, a state of hostility had existed between the government and ourselves, which was probably always the more rancorous for the decided part the people took in our favor. A circumstance which we knew to be owing less to their affection for us, than to their deadly hatred to the officers of government. For these were natives of Old Spain, and everywhere on this coast had disgusted the Creoles, by their arrogant and overbearing manner of treating them. No inconsiderable drawback, however, upon our enjoyment of this repose was the reflection, that we had yet on board, nearly one half of our European cargo, which could not be disposed of at Canton, unless there should chance to be a vessel fitting out from thence to the Spanish coast, of which there was not much probability. From the profit, which there was no doubt of our making on the sea otters' skins, however, there was scarcely any chance of experiencing a loss on the whole adventure; and we derived consolation from the reflection, that no efforts had been wanting, on our part, to produce a better result.

We had coasted along the western shore of California, for the most part within a distance of three leagues, and often much nearer, from San Diego to Cape San Lucas; and, during the whole course, had seen nothing but a continued range of barren sand-hills, with occasional clumps of bushes of apparently stinted growth. This barren coast has nothing to recommend it as the habitation of man; no harbour, no water, no soil adapted to cultivation. Hence, there are no missionary establishments near the shore. At a distance of about thirty miles in the interior, the country is said to present a very different aspect; and the cheapness of cattle, the abundance of horses and sheep, together with the apparently well-fed condition of the Padres, would seem to justify the report. Indeed, having had ample scope to choose, the Padres would not have evinced their usual sagacity, if they had failed to select the most fertile portions of the country for the establishment of their missions.

The only game we saw on this coast was deer, which were numerous, but always so shy, as not to admit our coming within musket-shot of them. What we were unable to effect with the musket, the Indians succeeded in doing by stratagem. Covered with the skin of a deer, and walking on all-fours, they would get so near to the drove, before discovered, as usually to kill or maim one with the bow and arrow. The invention, which is caused by necessity, is exhibited here, in their means of conveyance on the water. Having no wood, they make their canoes, or, as they are called, *blosas*, of flags, sufficiently buoyant to carry one person ; and on this the Indian will not only come off to ships which are distant, but ride over the surf which is breaking on the shore, at a time when it could not be done by a whaleboat. The mission of St. Joseph's is a desirable place to procure water and refreshments ; but there is no other place, where these can be obtained, between this mission and the Presidio of San Diego.

Leaving the mission of San Joseph's on the 28th of May, 1803, we experienced undeviating fine weather, fair winds, and smooth sea, on our passage to the Sandwich Islands, and, on the 19th of June, 1803, got sight of Owhyhee, its summit towering above the clouds. We passed Kohollo Point with a strong breeze ; and, presuming the king to be at Karakakooa Bay, we proceeded directly thither ; and, arriving on the 21st, in the morning, we lay by, and fired a gun. Not a canoe, however, nor a person, was seen moving. The silence and inactivity which prevailed, formed a perfect contrast to all my former experience at these islands. At length, after lying by more than an hour, two persons were discovered swimming off to us. On arriving on board, one of them spoke sufficient English to make us understand, that there existed a Taboo ; and, moreover, that the king and principal men were at Mowee. They piloted us to the best anchorage, passing over the coralbank; and we anchored on a sandy bottom, in sixteen fathoms.

The next day, John Young, who had seen us pass his residence, at Tooayah Bay, made us a visit, presuming we should anchor here. He told us, that the Taboo was a periodical one. When he first became an inhabitant of the island, it was of ten days' duration; but, of late years, had been reduced, and was now limited to three. We intended to remain here no longer than was requisite to supply ourselves with a few refreshments, which Young undertook to procure for us. We improved the time, therefore, by a ramble on shore. Among other places, we visited that Morai, where, in defiance of the prejudices of the natives, Captain Cook caused his observatory to be erected; a desecration, which was the origin of the quarrel that terminated his existence. There are yet standing, near the Morai, several cocoa-nut trees, which are perforated with the balls fired from his cannon on that occasion.

We left Karakakoa Bay on the 23d, and the next morning anchored in Tooayah Bay, for the purpose of landing the mare with foal, for which Young was very urgent; professing to have a knowledge of the treatment of horses, and promising to take all possible care of the animal. In the expectation, that the chance of their increase would be better secured, by placing the horses in the care of different persons, we acceded to his request, and landed the mare in safety near his place. This was the first horse that ever trod the soil of Owhyhee, and caused, amongst the natives, incessant exclamations of astonishment. Leaving this bay the same evening, we steered for Mowee; off which island we lay becalmed a part of the next day. When the breeze sprang up, though at a long distance from the village of Lahina, we were boarded by Isaac Davis, the European, who, with John Young, was captured many years since, in Captain Metcalf's vessel. Soon after, a double canoe was seen coming towards us; and, on arrival alongside, a large, athletic man, nearly naked, jumped on board, who was introduced, by Davis, as Tamaahmaah, the great King.

Desirous of conciliating the good opinion of a person whose power was so great, we omitted no attention which we supposed would be agreeable to him. But, whether he had left some duty unperformed on shore, or whether he had met with something to disturb his serenity of mind, we know not; certain it was, that he did not reciprocate our civilities. He appeared to be absent; and, after walking round the deck of the vessel, and taking only a very careless look of the horses, he got into his canoe, and went on shore. Davis remained on board all night, to pilot us to the best anchorage, which we gained early the following morning, and, soon after, had our decks crowded with visiters to see the horses. The people showed none of that indifference on seeing them, which had been manifested by the King, and which I believe to have been affectation, but, on the contrary, expressed such wonder and admiration, as were very natural on beholding, for the first time, this noble animal. The horses were landed safely, and in perfect health, the same day, and gave evidence, by their gambols, of their satisfaction at being again on *terra firma*. They were then presented to the King, who was told, that one had been also left at

Owhyhee for him. He expressed his thanks, but did not seem to comprehend their value.

While the crowd were apparently wondering what use they could be put to, a sailor from our ship jumped upon the back of one and galloped off amid the shouts of the natives, who, with alacrity, opened a way to let him pass. There existed strong apprehensions in the minds of all for the safety of the man; but when, by going back and forth, they perceived the docility of the animal, his subjection and his fleetness, they seemed to form some little conception of his utility. The King was among the number, who witnessed the temerity of the sailor; but, with all the sagacity for which he has been justly praised, remarked, that he could not perceive that the ability to transport a person from one place to another, in less time than he could run, would be adequate compensation for the food he would consume and the care he would require. As a dray or a dragoon's horse, there was no prospect of his being wanted, and hence our present was not very highly appreciated. In this we were much disappointed, but hoped, nevertheless, that the King would be influenced by our advice to have them well taken care of; that they would increase, and eventually that their value would be justly estimated.

Our supplies were received from the King; for all which we paid the full price, and though he offered us a small present as an offset for the horses, we declined its acceptance. Being apprehensive that our stock of bread would not last till we reached China, we hoped, as a substitute, to procure a good supply of yams; but in this expectation we were disappointed, as they were at this time unusually scarce, and therefore we determined to touch at the other islands for this purpose. Accordingly, on the 2d of July, we left Mowee, and the next morning anchored in Whyteete Bay, island of Woahoo.

While the natives were engaged in collecting our supplies, I made a long excursion on shore, among the beautiful rural scenery in the neighbourhood of the bay. In a retired spot, clothed with verdure and surrounded with cocoa-nut trees, my guide pointed to the grave of my old friend and former shipmate, Charles Derby, who died here last year, on board a Boston ship, which he commanded, from the Northwest Coast. Charles and I had sailed many a thousand leagues together, and, being of the same age, the probability was as great when we parted, that he would visit my grave as I his.

Meeting with but partial success in procuring here a supply of yams, we left on the 5th, and passed the following day, lying off and on, near Atoui, the most western island of the group, with no better success; and then bore away and made all sail to the westward. Atoui, at this time, was independent of the government of Tamaahmaah, from whom we were bearers of a message to the King, purporting, that the ambassador, which had been sent to him, together with one of equal rank, must be sent to Woahoo, within the space of one month, acknowledging him, Tamaahmaah, as his sovereign, on penalty of a visit with all his forces. As the King did not come on board and we did not land, the message was given to one of the European residents, who promised to convey it, but said it would be disregarded.

The Sandwich Islands and their distinguished King have long been so familiar to the European and American reader, as to require little to be said about them. At the time of our acquaintance with Tamaahmaah, he was a perfect savage, but evidently destined by nature, both physically and mentally, to be a chief. His mind was of a superior cast; its dictates induced the politic measure of seizing and forcibly keeping Young and Davis, aware of the advantages that would result from it, and foreseeing, that good usage and habit would reconcile them to their fate; which calculations the result proved to have been correct. As our intercourse with these Islands increased, the danger of a temporary residence on shore ceased. Among others, who, at this early period, took advantage of it, was a Mr. Howell, commonly called Padre Howell, who soon ingratiated himself into favor with the King, and, being struck with his superiority of intellect, conceived that it would not be difficult to induce him to abandon his idolatrous worship and substitute one of rationality. Accordingly, he lost no opportunity, after acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the language, to convince the Chief of the incapacity for good or evil of his gods, and of the power, and wisdom, and goodness of the Supreme Maker and Ruler of the Universe, whom he worshipped. The first, that of the impotency of the idols, was without difficulty admitted; but the second, not being tangible, could not be comprehended. His mind, however, appeared to be dwelling on the subject, with increased attention, after each conversation. At length, one day, while walking together, the King unusually thoughtful, and Howell auguring favorably from it, the silence was broken by the King's observing, "You say your God is powerful, wise, good, and that he will shield from harm, those who truly worship and adore him?" This being assented to, then said the King, "Give me proof, by going and throwing yourself from yonder precipice, and, while falling, call on your God to shield you, and if you escape unharmed, I will then embrace the worship of your God." It may be unnecessary to say, that Howell failed to give the desired test, and that the King remained unconverted.

The practice of mutilation was prevalent, on the decease of a person of consequence. At this time, every one was deficient in the two most prominent upper front teeth, which had been knocked out, in conformity with the tyranny of custom, and to have failed in giving such evidence of loyalty, would have been impolitic and unsafe. Gallantry is held in no less estimation here than loyalty; and feats are related to have been performed to convince the adored object of devotedness and attachment, which will bear comparison with those of the renowned days of chivalry. An instance occurred, a few days before our arrival, of a man swimming from the village of Lakina, in Mowee, to the Island of Ranai, a distance of not less than ten miles, to convince the idolized damsel of the truth and extent of his passion. The effect was unknown at the period of our departure, but it may be presumed to have been irresistible.

The abuse of power, in the most unprincipled and even cruel acts, has frequently been charged to our countrymen, while pursuing their avocations in these distant regions, and I am sorry to say not without foundation. To such conduct may reasonably be attributed the hostility of the Indians, the loss of many innocent lives, and of much property. Two instances in point, of recent date, were, at this time, the general theme of conversation among the foreigners at Mowee. The first, that of a Captain B——, in a schooner belonging to Philadelphia, who seized some unsuspecting Chiefs on the Northwest Coast, while visiting him, and released them only on being paid a ransom in skins, by their people. The second, that of Captain H——, of Nantucket, and Master of the schooner Nancy of Boston, engaged in the seal-skin business. This vessel, during the unfavorable season at Masafuera, went to Easter Island, where the natives came on board with a confidence inspired by the good treatment they had usually experienced from other vessels, which had visited them. When on the point of sailing, he decoyed six of them below, closed the hatches over them and went to sea. His object was to take them to Masafuera and employ them in taking and skinning seals, and afterwards, probably, to return them unharmed to their native island and friends. It is presumable, that they were as well treated as a regard to their security would admit. Be this, however, as it may, when the land was no longer in sight, there was supposed to be no danger of an attempt to escape, and consequently they were allowed to come on deck, when, without a moment's hesitation, they all simultaneously threw themselves into the sea. The boat was lowered down and every effort made to save them, but in vain, as, being expert swimmers, they used their greatest exertions to avoid the boat, thus evincing a preference of death to slavery.*

On the 7th of July, 1803, having ascertained that we could obtain no supplies without losing more time than they were worth, we made sail to the westward, with the intention of touching at the Island of Guam; and came in sight of that island on the evening of the 29th. The next morning early, we doubled round the north end of the island, and came in sight of the castle, situated on a hill. Soon after, on opening the bay, the town of St. Ignacio de Agam was presented to our view, making a very pretty appearance; the white houses contrasting with the beautiful foliage of the trees, by which they were shaded, and the distance beyond having the appearance of a dense forest of the most luxuriant growth.

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* This was related to me by a person, who was at Masafuera when the schooner Nancy arrived there from Easter Island.

Mr. Shaler went on shore and visited the Governor, who treated him with much civility, promised to have procured for him immediately the supplies required, and invited him to remain to dinner. As we intended remaining only long enough for collecting these supplies, or, if not procurable without delay, to be off without them, we did not come to anchor, but lay off and on, near the town. In the afternoon, Mr. Shaler returned on board, accompanied by the wife of the Governor, her female attendants, and three officers of the garrison. These guests remained with us until the boats came off with our supplies, in which they returned on shore, having expressed themselves much pleased with their visit, and promising to offer up petitions to the Virgin for our safety and happiness. On their leaving us, towards evening, we steered again to the westward with all sail spread.

Guam is the southernmost of the Marian Islands; it is but of moderate height, of even surface, and is covered with trees, even to the water's edge. There are estimated to be between five and six thousand inhabitants, about nine tenths of whom are natives and Malays. The garrison consists of one hundred and thirty soldiers, and the annual expense to Spain is twenty thousand dollars. As no article of commerce is produced here, but the Beche de Mar, and even this only in small quantities, there seems to exist no other inducement for the maintenance of this establishment, than to prevent this group of islands being taken possession of by any other people.

On the 8th of August, we had advanced about ten degrees west of the Marian Islands, when we had undoubted indications of approaching bad weather. And as at this season of the year, particularly, it is advisable to be cautious, our top-gallant yards were sent down, and our topsails double reefed, before night, the wind strong from southwest with rain. Early in the morning, the wind and sea having increased, we reduced our sails to a close-reefed main-topsail and foresail, and housed the top-gallant masts. The wind still increasing, compelled us to heave to under storm staysails. We had now a continual succession of the most violent squalls, accompanied with torrents of rain ; these shifted every two or three hours, from west-southwest to north, and north-northwest, blowing in opposite directions with equal fury, and causing so great and irregular a sea, as to threaten sweeping every thing from our decks, particularly when, between the shifting of the winds there were a few moments of calm ; and when from the excessive deep and quick rolling, there was great cause to apprehend the loss of our masts. This weather continued for twelve hours, and was followed by gales from the westward and from the southward, with scarcely any intermission until the 16th, when the weather became settled from the eastward. This was a harder gale, and more severe weather than any we experienced off Cape Horn.

In the evening of the 19th, we passed the Bashi Islands. On the 23d, we came in sight of Piedra Blanca; after passing which, we had much calm weather, which obliged us to anchor several times, and thus prevented us from gaining the anchorage in Macao Roads till the 26th. A pilot was procured the next day, when we weighed anchor and proceeded towards the river; but, owing to adverse winds and currents, we did not reach Wampoa till the 29th. The next day we went to Canton, and were hospitably received, and lodged at the factory of Captain Smith of the Semiramis, of Newport, while a factory which had been engaged was preparing for us. This being accomplished on the 1st of September, we took possession, and waited the result of various permits we had given to merchants, for the examination of the cargo. At length we accepted the proposition which appeared to be most eligible. This gave us a very handsome profit on the skins, which were to be paid for in teas at the current price; and our intention was to lade with them for the United States.

While making preparation to receive the teas, an American ship arrived from the Spanish coast with the greater part of her outward cargo on board. This it was found could be bought for less than first cost, in exchange for teas; and as, also, a large amount of our European investment was still on hand, these causes combined to point to the propriety of making another attempt on the California coast. When Mr. Shaler volunteered to undertake this voyage, there were so many applications to be interested, that we decided to take an interest of only one half the vessel and cargo, and consequently, disposed of the other half to our American friends.

The sheathing of the ship being in a very bad state, there existed a necessity for its renewal, and this was a labor of no trifling magnitude in a place like Wampoa, where there were no conveniences for the purpose, and where probably an attempt of the kind was never before made. But we found our countrymen ready and desirous of giving us all the aid in their power. One, whose ship was waiting cargo, permitted us to heave out by her, another loaned us blocks for the purpose, and the carpenters attached to the various ships, who could be spared came to the work with alacrity for liberal pay ; so that the business was accomplished in very little more time than would have been required for the purpose, if we had possessed the ordinary conveniences. There is often experienced abroad, among our fellow-citizens, a liberality, a generosity, a feeling of brotherhood, which prompts to the performance of the most noble and disinterested acts, and which at home are known only to family alliances. Of this description was our experience at this time, and the recollection of it has aided in ameliorating the asperity caused since, by an opposing experience in a repeated abuse of confidence, producing the most disastrous effects.

Our former experience of the high estimation of the character of the Hong merchant to whom we had sold our cargo, induced us to place a reliance on his assurance of the good quality of four hundred chests of teas received from him, which we ought not to have done. This tea was to be received in part payment of the cargo destined for California; but the person who was to receive it was less disposed than we had been to confide in Chinese honor, however high the character of the individual in question might stand. Accordingly, on examination, he found the teas, instead of very good, to be of very ordinary quality. When this discovery was made known to the Hong merchant, he did not attempt an apology; but, to avoid the exposure that would be made by a controversy, changed them at once for such as had been agreed for.

During the preceding transactions, I had been engaged in preparing an investment of silks suitable for the American market. When these were ready, I contracted for their freight, and to embark as passenger for Boston, in the ship Alert, Captain Ebbets.

CHAPTER XVI.

Parting with Mr. Shaler. — Origin of our Acquaintance. — Observations. — Embark for Boston. — Touch at North Island. — Pass the Isle of Bourbon. — Arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. — Reflections. — Departure from the Cape of Good Hope. — Arrival at Boston. — Lelia Byrd sails for California. — Disaster. — Difficulty of making Repairs. — Arrive at the Sandwich Islands. — Barter with the King. — Place the Cargo in his Power. — His honorable Conduct. — Expedite the Tamana. — Mr. Hudson. — His Voyage. — Return and Death. — Lelia Byrd. — Apology for the Voyage.

The parting here with my long tried, much esteemed and affectionate friend, Shaler, was not unattended with painful emotions. We had shared abundantly in those dangers, toils, and anxieties, no less than in those pleasures and recreations, which combine so forcibly to cement the bonds of friendship. Our acquaintance began at the Isle of France, in the year 1800, where we lived together, at the Consular residence, ten months. We then embarked in the Cronberg, and were fellow-passengers to Copenhagen. The voyage now narrated, down to the period of our separation, having occupied more than two years, completed an aggregate, exceeding four years, that we had lived together in the closest intimacy. The many instances, that had come within our observation, of intimate friends' becoming alienated from differing in opinion on the merest trifles in the world, had suggested to us the propriety of pondering well on our ability to sustain, harmoniously, the contemplated alliance, in affairs of greater importance. Nothing short of our mutual experience of each other's temper and disposition, could justify the presumption implied, of the power to maintain the harmony required, in a voyage of ordinary character, between two persons, equally interested in the property, equally competent to taking charge of the nautical and mercantile part of the business, and on a perfect footing of equality, in every thing relating to the management of the ship, as well as that of the cargo. But in an enterprise, involving so much difficulty and danger, so much to perplex and irritate, with so little success, to cheer the spirits and promote equanimity of temper,—that we should be able to accomplish it without a rupture, is surprising; how much more so, then, that we never had an angry dispute, and parted with feelings of affection, increased by the very difficulties and embarrassments we had encountered together.

Having embarked my freight on board the Alert, and that ship being all ready on the 4th of January, 1804, we dropped down the river, in company with the ship Hanover, Captain Barney, with whom an engagement was made to keep company until we were clear of the straits. It was soon perceived, that the Alert greatly outsailed the Hanover, and that our passage was much retarded by shortening sail for her. We, however, arrived together, at North Island, where, while engaged in filling up our water-casks, numerous Malays came down to the Sumatra shore, to exchange their fruits and a great variety of monkeys, for old clothes. The object, for which we touched at this island, being accomplished, on the 28th the anchor was again weighed, and the sails spread to the breeze. We passed Java

Head the next day, came in sight of the Isle of Bourbon on the 21st of February, and arrived in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on the 10th of March, having seen nothing of the Hanover since the evening of leaving North Island.

Repeated visits to the Cape of Good Hope had been productive of the most agreeable associations with that delightful place; and the renewal of acquaintance with many good people, whose kindness and hospitality I had experienced in "by-gone days," caused the time to pass off quickly and agreeably. Such are among the soothing and satisfactory incidents, occasionally met with by those, whose business is on the ocean, and which tend, if not to obviate, at least to lessen the tedium and monotony peculiar to the profession.

Having passed five days, very pleasantly, with our friends at the Cape, we bade them adieu on the 15th, and sailed for Boston. Our passage was marked by no interruption to the fine weather and smooth sea peculiar to the tract of ocean, comprised between the Cape of Good Hope and the latitude of Bermuda. Yet sailing for so long a time, with fair and gentle breezes, without even one such little exciting incident, as the gale which requires the topsails to be reefed, becomes tiresome by its monotony; and something like it may be realized by the man who is born to fortune, reared in the lap of ease, and has never been acquainted with aught but life's smiles and sunshine. We arrived safely at Boston on the 14th of May, 1804. Nearly eight years had elapsed since my departure from home; and the period had been prolific of events of opposing characters, and producing corresponding emotions, which can be properly estimated by those only who have had similar experience.

My invoice of silks arrived at a very good market, and were sold advantageously. Had that part of our adventure, which was under the direction of my friend Shaler, done as well, the necessity for my navigating again would have been obviated. But a scene of disasters attended him, which resulted in nearly a total loss of the property under his charge. As this is a part of the Lelia Byrd's voyage, so intimately connected with that already narrated, as to form, in fact, part of a whole, I have considered it proper to give the outlines of it, though it be only from memory.

A few days after my departure for Canton, Mr. Shaler sailed from thence, bound to the coast of California, where he arrived without accident. He had been on that coast but a few weeks, and had disposed of but a small amount of cargo, when, unfortunately, the ship struck on a shoal, and beat so heavily, before getting off, as to cause her to leak alarmingly. His situation was now one of great embarrassment. To have sought relief in any of the neighbouring ports, after such notoriety, would have been subjecting the vessel and cargo to seizure; to have attempted to reach the Sandwich Islands, while they could hardly keep the ship afloat in smooth water, would have been highly imprudent. There seemed, then, to be no other alternative, than to go to one of the desert islands in the neighbourhood, land the cargo, and heave the ship out, or lay her on shore. They succeeded in arriving at one of the group, among which is St. Clement's. Here they found a snug harbour, which offered scarcely any other advantages than its solitude, and its shield from the effects of sea and wind. The tide did not ebb sufficiently to enable them to come to the leaks by laying her on shore; and in attempting to heave her keel out, she filled and sank. Fortunately, the water was so shoal as not to cover the deck; and she was again pumped dry. It was now evident, that they could not make such repairs as would allow them to prosecute the voyage; and to stop the leaks sufficiently, to enable them to reach the Sandwich Islands, seemed to be the only way to avoid the total loss of the property. The repairs they were able to make, were done in so imperfect a manner, as would have made it unjustifiable to attempt any other passage, than one where they might presume on good weather and a fair wind all the way, like the one contemplated. With these advantages, however, it was not without incessant labor at the pumps, that they were able to reach the Sandwich Islands.

An attempt to repair the ship, with the very inadequate means which were available here, was discouraging, from the great length of time it would require. No foreign vessel was procurable, to return to the coast with the cargo. To freight a ship with it to China, would have been easy; but then it would be transporting it to where the loss on a re-sale would be very heavy. In this dilemma, it was decided, as a choice of difficulties, to barter with Tamaahmaah the Lelia Byrd for a little vessel of thirty or forty tons, which had been built on the island. This was a negotiation of greater magnitude, than the King had ever before participated in; and the importance of which was sensibly felt by him. To place a cargo of such value, and composed of such a variety of articles, so tempting to the savage, in detail, and of such inestimable value, in the aggregate, in the power of this barbarian, relying entirely on his honor for its restoration, could be justified only by the pressing necessity which existed. The confidence placed in this Chief, though reluctantly, was proved by the event to have been well merited. The cargo was received into his store, and when the schooner was ready it was all faithfully and honorably delivered to the person appointed to receive it.

To the schooner was given the name of the Queen, Tamana, and Mr. John T. Hudson, a young man who had been attached to the ship since leaving Valparaiso, was intrusted with the charge of the voyage. The difficulties of such an enterprise in a suitable vessel have been already narrated; these were greatly increased by the small size of the Tamana and the consequent feebleness of the crew. Perseverance and industry, however, on the part of Mr. Hudson appear not to have been wanting; but prudence forbade his entering a port of strength; and the sales to be made among the missions and in barter with the Indians were of small amount. Nor did he meet with any success in collecting from the missionaries any part of the sums due from them for goods, with which Mr. Shaler had credited them, though the hope of recovering these had been a considerable inducement in expediting this vessel. After visiting most of the missions in California, and navigated its coast from one extremity to the other, during a period of between five and six months, without effecting any sales of importance, his patience as well as that of his crew being exhausted, and his provisions running short, he returned in safety to the Sandwich Islands. Here he disposed of the Tamana, took passage to China, and thence to the United States, with but a small sum left for the owners, after paying all the disbursements. Mr. Shaler had preceded him, one year, to the United States, and waited there his arrival. The tragical end of Mr. Hudson, at Providence, soon after his arrival, prevented for ever the desired meeting. The Lelia Byrd was repaired by the King and made two or three voyages to China, with sandal-wood. At length, worn out, and after being for a time a receiving ship for opium, she was broken up or sunk at Wampoa.

Something ought to be said, if not to justify, at least to extenuate, the undertaking and prosecuting an enterprise, for the success of which, violence and stratagem were requisite. It is notorious, that no civilized people on the face of the earth were ever subjected to so degrading a state of vassalage as the Creoles, or native inhabitants of Spanish America. It is equally notorious, that they were sensible of it and were grateful to those strangers, who supplied them with clothing at half the ordinary prices demanded by their own merchants, who sympathized with them and made known to them the course, which *their* countrymen had taken, in precisely similar circumstances, to achieve their independence. As it respected our intercourse with this people, viewed separately from the government, it was precisely in conformity with the golden rule of "doing unto others as in like circumstances we would have others do unto us." Hence we lost no opportunity of confirming the advocates of free government, and convincing the wavering of the self-evident proposition, that governments were instituted for the happiness of the people, and not, exclusively, for that of the rulers; that all power of right belongs to and emanates from the *people, whose servants the rulers are.* Consequently, when by force, stratagem, or any other manner, this relation between people and rulers had become reversed, it was a palpable usurpation on the part of the latter, which it was proper and becoming to resist under any circumstances, but more especially when the usurped power was used to oppress and enslave.

To give lessons to this people, however, on the relations of governors and governed, or to aid them in the means of emancipation from the degradation, to a sense of which they were beginning to wake up, was not the object of our voyage; nor did we anticipate the difficulties we experienced. We had ascertained, that, for several years previous to the peace of Amiens, the Spanish colonies had become so destitute of the manufactures of Europe, that the rigor of the government to prevent their entry was very much mitigated. And it was the expectation of a continuation of this policy, and which the peace of Amiens put an end to, that made the prospect flattering, and induced us to undertake the voyage. When once embarked in it, there remained to us the choice, only, to retreat and submit to great loss, or to pursue the hazardous course narrated, and take our chance for the result. That result will be perceived, by the preceding narrative, to have been in no degree commensurate with the hazard, toil, and anxiety we encountered.

As a testimony of undeviating fidelity, it is only a just tribute to the memory of George, the black man, to say, that, throughout this long and troublesome voyage, he performed the part of a faithful ship-steward; that there was none so entirely to be depended on in such an emergency as that at San Diego, and that his services were duly appreciated. His habits were expensive, and, notwithstanding the years he had been on constant pay and high wages with me, I never could persuade him to lay by any thing. He accompanied me from China to Boston in the Alert, remained with me as a domestic about a year after, and then died at Roxbury, and is buried in the Roxbury cemetery.

END OF VOL. I.

Wm G. Appleton.

A NARRATIVE OF VOYAGES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES,

BY

RICHARD J. CLEVELAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER I.

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Hitherto, in my enterprises, a spirit of adventure united with that of acquisition, had been the motive of action; but henceforth the latter was to act alone.

The voyage in the Lelia Byrd, under the exclusive direction of Mr. Shaler, proved a very unfortunate one. Owing to some informality in the protest, we failed to recover any thing from the underwriters. The attempt made under the direction of Mr. Hudson to retrieve our affairs, by a return to the coast of California with that part of the cargo which remained unsold, in a little vessel which had been built at the island, and had been taken in exchange for the Lelia Byrd, was unsuccessful. The large amount credited to the missionaries of California, on their simple notes, was a total loss. Only four of the twenty priests of the various missions scattered along the coast, to whom we had given credit, were sufficiently honest to redeem their notes. The amount which we had placed in charge of our friend Rouissillon, to be accounted for by him on his arrival in the United States, was also lost by the unfortunate death of that gentleman at Mexico. These combined losses had made such an inroad on our fortunes as to make renewed exertions necessary to retrieve them. Nor were the domestic obligations, which I had recently contracted, less influential in stimulating to great efforts and great self-denial, for the attainment of an object which had become incalculably more desirable and important to me in consequence.

The common and every-day voyages to Europe, India, and China, which presented the prospect of only moderate profit, but with entire safety, were less in harmony with my inclination and habits, than those of a more enterprising character, which promised greater advantage, though with increased risk. The war succeeding the short peace of Amiens, had again closed the ports of the Spanish colonies to any commerce in their own ships; and they must, therefore, again rely exclusively on foreign flags for the requisite supply of European manufactures. A voyage to the coasts of Chili and Peru, then presenting greater prospects of profit, in proportion to the risk, than any other, Mr. Shaler and myself again united our fortunes in such an adventure under my direction. In June, 1806, we purchased at New York, the Aspasia, a Baltimore clipper-built schooner of a hundred and seventy tons, which had been recently coppered to the wales. This vessel was fitted with every thing requisite for the voyage, not omitting a suitable armament. This last circumstance excited the suspicion of some of the worthy fraternity of Friends, that our destination was to Africa for slaves ; but they were quieted on my assurance that I had no such intention, and, moreover, that they did not hold this cruel traffic in greater horror and detestation than I did.

As the late master of the Aspasia could have no motive to deceive me, I relied on his assurance, that the spars were perfectly sound and in good condition ; nor did our sad experience to the contrary induce the belief of any want of good faith on his part. A cargo, such as experience had taught us was best suited to the wants of the people for whom it was destined, was purchased at New York, and, with the vessel, was owned equally by Mr. Shaler and myself, absorbing about the whole amount of the fortunes of each, a portion only of which was covered by insurance, at a very high premium. Our ship's company was one third more than the usual complement for this vessel, making altogether sixteen persons.

Being all ready for sea on the morning of the 10th of August, 1806, and having a fine breeze from the westward, the pilot, true to his engagement, came on board and conducted us outside of Sandy Hook. He then left us, to board a vessel bound in. The wind was very light, and the ocean so smooth, presenting truly "the unruffled surface of a summer's sea," that it was late in the afternoon before we lost sight of the highlands of Neversink.

A succession of light winds and calm weather, not unusual at this season of the year, rendered the first part of our passage very tedious; and it was not until the 10th of September, that we took the trade winds, being then in latitude 20° north, and longitude 27° west of Greenwich. But it seemed as if the long calm had been only a prelude to a gale in a parallel where it was entirely unexpected. During the day, our sails were double-reefed, the wind so far to the eastward as to bring the sea very much on the beam, causing much water to be shipped. Presuming on the swift sailing of the vessel, we had steered a course further to the westward in this latitude, than would have been considered prudent in vessels of the ordinary rate of sailing; hence it was particularly desirable that no spar should be carried away, and that no other accident should happen, which might cause the risk of falling to leeward of Cape St. Roque.

At sunset, as there was no diminution of the gale, and the sea had increased, our sail was reduced, by taking off the bonnets from the foresail and gib, and taking a third reef in the mainsail. Under this reduced sail we were making ten knots an hour. At this rate we continued going until the middle watch had half expired, when, immediately after the helm was relieved, a tremendous crash was heard, and at the same moment the foremast was seen to be falling over to leeward. Its weight, together with the topmast-yards, sails, and rigging attached to it was too heavy to be supported by the bowsprit, and that broke off near the stem. The vessel, no longer mindful of her helm, came up into the wind. The scene now, for a few moments, was one of dismay. The darkness of the night, the roaring sea, the howling wind, the quick and sharp rolling of the vessel, unchecked by any sail, the hard thumping against the vessel of the spars which had fallen alongside, and which threatened mischief, and the difficulty of coming at the rigging, which held the spars, in order to cut it away, all combined to make our situation one of great perplexity. At each roll of the vessel to windward, the stay, which from the head of the mainmast was attached to that of the foremast, raising it out of the water, and causing a strain which threatened the loss of the mainmast, made it requisite to cut away that stay as soon as possible. This could be done only at the mainmast head; but to get there was a very difficult task, owing to the shrouds being greatly slackened by one roll, and brought up with a sudden jerk on the opposite. At the first attempt, the man had ascended about half way, when he was thrown off by one of those sudden jerks, but fortunately was saved from destruction by falling into the mainsail, which, having been lowered part way down, made a cradle for his reception, and prevented his receiving any harm. A second attempt was more successful; the man gained the mast-head and cut away the stay; but, by this time, the mainmast had become so badly sprung, that I was apprehensive it would fall before he could get down.

As soon as this was accomplished, the attention of every one was given to cutting away such of the rigging as kept the wreck of spars alongside. This being done, and the precaution taken of attaching a strong line to the spars, the greater drift of the vessel soon brought them to windward, and they served to keep the vessel's head to the sea. Daylight unveiled to us no new misfortune; but, on examining the stump of the foremast, an old defect was discovered, which had been hidden from our sight by the wedges of the mast, and which was the cause of our misfortune.

Before noon of the following day, the gale had very considerably abated, and with great industry we not only saved the sails and rigging, but erected a jury mast and got a sail upon it before night. It was now, however, a matter of much difficulty to determine on the most eligible course to pursue. The sail we were able to spread was so greatly reduced as to make our progress on a wind very slow; this difficulty might at any moment be increased by the fall of the mainmast, which was so very badly sprung, that, with our best efforts at fishing it, and also of relieving it of the weight of the topmast and yards, we were in constant apprehension of losing it. In such a predicament, it would be impossible to work off of a lee shore. To proceed to any one of the West India Islands, would have been a task of easy accomplishment, as it would have been sailing before the wind all the way; but this course would have been ruinous to our voyage. With the wind as it then was, two points free, we could make five knots an hour; hence I considered it practicable to weather Cape St. Roque, and, this once accomplished, the prospect would be fair of reaching Rio Janeiro, where the repairs required could be easily and expeditiously made, and the original plan of the voyage be prosecuted. I therefore determined on making the attempt and shaped our course for this purpose.

Owing to the prevalence of light winds and calms, which succeeded the gale that had been so disastrous to us, we did not cross the Equator until the 6th of October, twenty-five days from that of the disaster; and in eighteen days afterwards, the 24th of October, we arrived at Rio Janeiro, having been forty-three days navigating in so crippled a state, that a gale of ordinary violence or duration would greatly have increased our embarrassments, if it did not prevent our gaining the desired port.

The policy of the Portuguese government, like that of Spain, prohibited strangers from entering a port of their colonies, excepting only on the evidence of such palpable necessity as would make the refusal an act of gross inhumanity. There could exist no doubt in the minds of the official visitors, that ours was a case in point, and one demanding the utmost extent of their indulgence. Nearly two hours were expended in the requisite examinations and investigations of the damages incurred, in order to estimate the time required to repair them, so as to graduate the number of days, which should be permitted us to remain in port. The *procès verbal*, or report, being accomplished and submitted to the proper authorities, they were pleased to grant us forty-five days.

An attempt was now made by the government linguist to compel the employment of mechanics of his appointment; but the very earnestness, with which he pressed this, and his assurance that I should be permitted to employ no others, awakened my suspicions of sinister and base motives on his part, and induced a reference to higher authority, from which I learned, that no such regulation existed, and that I was at liberty to employ any that I chose.

It was impossible to procure such masts here as were suitable for a schooner of the size of our vessel, and I therefore decided to rig her as a brig; for which purpose both our old masts would answer. Giving, then, to the carpenter the requisite directions for the length of the masts, spars, &c., and to the sail-maker for the sails to be made from those of the schooner, and employing the crew in preparing the rigging, there existed no doubt of accomplishing our object and of being ready to leave the port even before the expiration of the time to which we were limited.

Whilst the Aspasia was undergoing these various repairs and changes, I had received information, which made it very desirable to alter the voyage. The great length of time, during which an entire suspension of business had been caused at the river of Plate by the hostile fleet and army of England, had prevented the transmission to the Havana of those supplies of jerked beef, which long habit had made indispensable. It was obvious, therefore, that no occasion had ever been presented, which held out such flattering inducements for the undertaking of such a voyage. The profits were a certainty, that might be nearly estimated at the outset. The risk from capture at sea appeared to be trifling, and the time necessary for its accomplishment would not be more than half that required for prosecuting the original plan. But the obstacles to be overcome were very great, and, at first sight, seemed to render the attempt irrational and hopeless. The utter impossibility of obtaining permission from government to sell our cargo, the difficulty and great risk of attempting to do it without such permission, the small amount in value, which our vessel would carry in jerked beef, and the improbability of being able to procure a suitable ship to take the remainder, all seemed to render the execution of the plan, however desirable, one of insurmountable difficulty. In the prosecution of an object, however, where there was a certainty of reward in proportion to obstacles to be overcome, the stimulus was powerful to look on every side for their removal, and, in so doing, I was aided by one of the most respectable and influential merchants of the city.

In the old and decayed colonial governments of Portugal and Spain, where those who administered them seemed to consider themselves placed rather to make their own fortunes than to benefit the state or the people, and where the conduct of the subalterns in office was influenced by the example of their superiors, an intelligent merchant generally possessed the power, if not of suspending the rigor of the commercial laws, at least of producing a blindness to their infraction, which rendered them nugatory. To such a merchant it was my good fortune to be introduced,—one, before all others of the city, who possessed the requisite energy, enterprise, influence, and ability for the prosecution of the plan in contemplation. He perceived, that a negotiation was practicable, which would be mutually advantageous. The great profit he would make on my cargo, taken at ten per cent advance on the invoice, at which I offered it, would enable him to defray all the expenses of getting it on shore, and those attendant on the delivery of the Aspasia's cargo of beef, at sea; both of which operations were to be at his risk, and would leave him a handsome sum as compensation. An additional inducement, also, was that of receiving, in part payment, a fine coppered ship of three hundred and sixty tons burden, then in port, and ready to be expedited without delay. This ship was to be provided with a Portuguese master and crew, to be navigated under the Portuguese flag, and was to proceed to the Island of St. Catharine, where a cargo of beef would be delivered on board as soon as it could be transported there from the Rio Grande.

According to agreement the necessary measures were taken for unlading the Aspasia, and so judiciously, that in two nights the whole cargo was landed without accident or any attempt at molestation from the sentries or the officers of the customs. It was not possible, however, to conceal or to prevent observation on the sudden and apparently miraculous manner, in which our vessel had become elevated on the water, and which was marked along her whole length by the grass and foulness common to wood, which has been for so long a time submerged in sea-water. This evidence of our nightly labor was scraped off and a coat of tar and blacking put on immediately, of which no other notice was taken than an occasional joke from the native boatmen on the suddenness, with which our vessel had risen on the water, without any apparent cause.

Although we used all our powers to induce the spar-maker to exert his utmost energies in our behalf, he was unable to complete the spars, tops, and caps, in less than three weeks after our arrival. However, as the other parts of the equipment were finished, we succeeded in preparing the vessel for sea a week within the time to which we were limited. When all was thus ready, we weighed anchor, and made several tacks to and fro in the bay, to try her rate of sailing and manner of working as a brig, and had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the change. The next day, having ascertained, that the vessel with the beef was ready to go outside, and transfer it to the Aspasia, both vessels proceeded to sea, together, on the 1st of December. To Mr. Rodgers, the first mate of the Aspasia, I had given her in charge, with directions, when laden, to proceed to the Havana, there dispose of the cargo, and, with the proceeds of it, to lade the vessel with such produce of the island as he should judge best adapted to the New York market, whither he was to make the best of his way with it.

The Aspasia being despatched, there was nothing to prevent me from giving my undivided attention to expediting the Telémaco, the ship I had bought; but acting by means of others, I perceived to be dull work, and particularly so with the Portuguese. There was, however, no other resource than patience; and it was very evident, that large drafts would be required upon whatever stock I might possess of this virtue. The young man, who had been appointed to command the ship, was docile and amiable, but entirely destitute of that principle of enterprise, which is an acknowledged peculiarity of the American character; so that, as almost every thing depended on his exertions for getting away the ship, it was nearly the end of December before this desirable object was accomplished.

Our passage to St. Catharine's was performed in a few days, and with much ease. The predicament, however, of making one of a ship's company, not an individual of which, excepting my servant, was acquainted with any other than the Portuguese language, of which I was ignorant, wasnot without its embarrassment.

Entering by the passage at the north end of the island, it is necessary to pass over a long distance of flats, on which there are only from seven to eight feet of water, before arriving at the harbour in front of the town, in doing which we scraped the bottom several times, and hence had evidence, that it would be injudicious to cause the ship to draw more water in going out, and that we should be compelled to lade the greater part of the cargo in the roadstead, at the north end of the island.

Directions having been sent to Rio Grande, at the time of making my contract for the beef to be sent to St. Catharine's, a brig, with nearly two hundred tons, reached there a few days after our arrival. This being taken on board, and occupying the place of the ballast, which had been thrown out, made the ship draw a few inches more water than on entering; and this trifling increase caused embarrassment, and the loss of a kedge-anchor, in returning over the flats. Having anchored in the roadstead, near the main side, from which was a beautiful run of water emptying into the sea, we waited there nearly a month before receiving the remainder of the cargo. In the mean time, the men were engaged in filling the water-casks, and in cutting a plentiful supply of wood.

The town of St. Catharine's is eligibly situated on a gentle slope, at the southwest side of the island; and its harbour is secure against the influence of every wind. The appearance of the town, from the shipping in the harbour, is very prepossessing; but a closer inspection tends, in some degree, to remove the favorable impressions thus made. The houses are of very ordinary construction, generally of one story; and their furniture is of the rudest manufacture, and limited to articles of indispensable necessity. Hence, the inhabitants, being unacquainted with luxuries, or unambitious of possessing them, are very generally in the enjoyment of ease and independence. Indeed, when a Creole Portuguese possesses enough to keep him from starving, he will no longer labor, but riots in those slothful indulgences, which, from education, or rather example, and the effect of climate, he considers supreme happiness.

To the richest individual of the place I had a letter of introduction; but it did not procure for me any of those little attentions, which may be made without any expense, and which are so gratifying in a strange land. By the accidental circumstance of being near his house, during a passing shower, I took the liberty of going in, to avoid getting wet, and was treated with all desirable civility. This man's fortune is estimated at twenty thousand dollars; an amount, which, compared with that of the rest of the community, gives him the same false estimate of himself, induced by the sycophancy of his fellow-citizens, which, from a like cause, is but too often seen in better educated and more intelligent communities.

The Governor, though acknowledged to be a worthy man, is decidedly opposed to the levelling system, which is a peculiarity of the times; and when its influence is observed in an individual, by any deficiency of respect to himself, he does not allow it to pass unnoticed. Of this he gave an instance one day, when one of the seamen of the Telémaco, being on shore on liberty, passed near to him without raising his hat. He was instantly arrested; and, although he urged, in extenuation, his ignorance of its being the Governor, he was, nevertheless, put in the stocks for an hour. With such summany punishment for a breach of good manners, it may be presumed, that the people are orderly; that riots, street brawls, and drunken frolics are unknown here. Indeed, the inhabitants have no fancy for them; and the foreign sailors, who are occasionally here, soon discover, that a sober demeanor is the only one allowable.

In consequence of the limited native commerce of St. Catharine's, and the small number of foreign ships which visit it, there are no inducements to the inhabitants to prepare such supplies of live stock, vegetables, and fruits, as are desirable for vessels touching there; and hence, in procuring ours, we were indebted to the kindness of some individuals, who permitted encroachments to be made on their family stock. Having accomplished our lading, after waiting for the last part of the cargo until my patience was nearly exhausted, we immediately weighed anchor, and sailed for the Havana, on the 15th of February, 1806.

After having abandoned the original plan of going to the west coast of America, and decided on the one I was now prosecuting, I had written by two opportunities, from Rio Janeiro, to my friends in Boston, requesting to have insurance effected, if it were practicable. But these were precarious times for neutrals, when the two great belligerents agreed in nothing else than in plundering them; and I was aware of the uncertainty, whether, by some new order in council, on one side, or some retaliatory decree on the other, approximating to an interdiction of all neutral commerce, insurance could be effected at any rate. On the presumption, however, that such neutral commerce would be unmolested, as did not, even in a remote degree, prejudice the interests of the belligerents, (and of this description the voyage I was now pursuing certainly was,) I felt that I had little else to guard against than the sea risk, and therefore was free from anxiety on the subject of insurance.

A few degrees south of the equator we fell in with a British frigate, by which we were subjected to a rigid scrutiny; the result of which was a conviction of the neutrality of the property, the legality of the voyage, and consequently, that there existed no motive for detention. By the captain and officers of this ship I was treated with much civility, and, on parting, they wished me a safe arrival at Havana. A similar investigation, with a like result, by a British sloop-of-war, from which we were boarded a few days afterwards, tended to encourage me in the belief that I had nothing to apprehend from British vessels of war. These evidences, that my voyage was not considered opposed to any order or regulation which should justify its interruption, and by those too, whose eye to discover a flaw possessed the quickness of the eagle, and whose appetite for prey was as voracious as that of the shark, confirmed my opinion, that the sea risk was all I had to apprehend. With these impressions, I perceived no other obstacle to prevent my reaching Havana, where I was sure of reaping an immense profit on my adventure. In the contemplation of such flattering prospects, my imagination often dwelt on the joy of a happy return to my family, with a fortune that would supersede the necessity of ever leaving it again. These pleasing anticipations, however, were soon destined to pass away into the regions of airy castles.

Early on a fine morning, when about a hundred and fifty miles to windward of the Island of Martinique, we descried a number of vessels to the westward, which, on approaching, were perceived to be a fleet of English vessels of war. Being nearest the Ramillies of seventy-four guns, we were boarded from that ship, and on ascertaining that the fleet was commanded by Admiral Cochrane, my heart sank within me. All my confidence, resulting from the ordeal to which we had been so recently subjected, combined with my entire conviction of the innocence and legitimacy of the voyage, were insufficient to banish the apprehension of being sent in for adjudication.

The boarding officer from the Ramillies was a young man of good appearance, but totally deficient in every attribute of the gentleman excepting his garb. His behaviour to the captain of the Telémaco, and to myself, while on board our own ship, was marked by all that insolence, arrogance, and impudence, which are the acknowledged peculiarities of a coward, when conscious of being free from danger. As the captain of the Telémaco did not speak English, I accompanied this brutal officer on board the Ramillies, with the ship's papers. My reception and treatment by the venerable and respectable commander of this ship, formed a perfect contrast with that of the boarding officer. He was evidently one of the old school, urbane, mild, gentlemanly, and with manners and deportment as much at variance with those of his subalterns, as were the courtiers of the times of the Louises, with the *sans-culottes* of our day. After a thorough examination of our papers, in which he was assisted by two of his officers, no cause was perceived by them to justify the detention of the ship; consequently, the papers were returned to me by the commander, who wished me a good voyage, and caused me to be put on board the Telémaco again.

On the presumption that a captain in the fleet would not act in this independent manner without the sanction of the commander-in-chief, I began to doubt whether time had not effected a change in the character of the Admiral, whether the high station to which he had arrived might not have elevated his mind above the buccaniering propensities for which he was famed; whether even he might not occasionally feel something allied to remorse, at the amount of distress which he must be conscious that he had caused, and hence had determined to plunder no more. This delusion unfortunately was but of momentary duration. The Admiral, in this instance, gave evidence that time and exalted station had no ameliorating effect on his piratical propensities. We had scarcely filled away our sails, when, his ship having approached, and the information, having been conveyed to him by signal, of whence we came, and whither we were bound, without deigning to see us, or our papers, he ordered our ship to be taken possession of, and to be conducted to Tortola. Accordingly, a boat, with the requisite number of men, came on board from the Cerberus frigate, and took possession of our ship; and returning, took our ship's company, including myself, on board the frigate, leaving the master of the Telémaco, alone of our number, on board that ship.

CHAPTER II.

Admiral Cochrane. — His Notoriety. — Officers of the Cerberus. — Theme of Conversation. — Arrival at Tortola. — Dougan, the Prize Agent. — His Threat to the Judge. — Vice-Admiralty Court. — Condemnation. — Cause therefor. — Proposal from the Agent. — Proceed to St. Thomas. — Wrecked. — Arrive in the Boat. — Effect on the Owners. — Fail in my Object. — Return. — Embark again for St. Thomas. — Hence to New York. — Arrival. — Interview with a Friend. — Extent of my Misfortune. — Arrive at Home.

THE experience of a few years, with only a moderate degree of observation, will suffice to convince us, that with man, as with animals, there are peculiarities and propensities in families, and in characters which are known to the world, by which they may justly be designated as of a good or a bad breed. As an instance among distinguished men, no contemporary of those great British naval commanders, the Howes, who had observed their course, but would decide that they belonged to the former class; and that they were incapable of other than noble, honorable, and chivalrous acts. On the contrary, there are none who are familiar with the names and course of the Cochranes, but must have identified them with the latter class. They have invariably exhibited a thievish propensity; for the gratification of which, and for a long course of years, they have set at defiance the laws of God and man. In the indulgence of this propensity Admiral Cochrane stands preëminent. The multitude of defenceless merchant vessels, which he took and sent in for adjudication, in the early part of the war, incident to the French Revolution, and while in command of the Thetis frigate, on the Halifax station, will long be remembered; and although he must have been aware, that not one in fifty of them could be confiscated, yet as he would be exonerated from expense, he seemed not only to have a total disregard of the ruin he was causing innocent men, but actually to riot in the exercise of power which produced that ruin. During the long war which succeeded, and in which he was promoted, his highest ambition seems to have been that of enriching himself by the plunder of defenceless merchant vessels. The attack on New Orleans was projected by him; and the watchword of "Booty and Beauty," is sufficiently expressive of the character of the enterprise. This abortive attempt was the last great buccaniering expedition in which the Admiral was engaged.

The unenviable course of Lord Cochrane, nephew of the Admiral, who has figured at the head of the Chilian navy, and its consequences, are of general notoriety; and I mention him, because, being both designated as admirals, and equally eager for plunder, they are often confounded; and because, being a relative, it serves to confirm the correctness of the theory of breeds.

There is scarcely an object offered to the contemplation of an honorable mind more disgusting than a sordid desire of accumulating riches, in one whose profession is arms; and when that desire is indulged at the expense of innocent and unoffending individuals, there is no term too opprobrious to apply to it. There exists such an incompatibility in the two pursuits, that whenever they are united in the same person, that person may truly be termed a poltroon.

Those only of our countrymen, who were engaged in commerce thirty years ago, can, from experience, form a just estimate of the atrocious conduct of the British government toward neutrals, and of the hopelessness of any cause, however fair, which was subjected to the decision of any of its West India Vice-Admiralty Courts; and especially that of Tortola, the most infamous mockery of justice, and apology for sanctioning plunder, with which the world has ever been disgraced. Even before such a tribunal, however, with such entire absence of all cause for confiscation as my case presented, a hope of escape might have been indulged, had I been sent in by some poor friendless lieutenant; but with an admiral for my opponent confiscation was certain.

During the several days I passed on board the Cerberus, before arriving, I was treated with much civility by the captain and officers of that ship. The ward-room officers were all young men of gentlemanly manners and deportment. The all absorbing theme of conversation while I was with them, was their prizes; what they had shared from one; what they expected to share from another; not omitting an estimate of the pittance each might derive from my property. That the minds of pirates and thieves should be so exclusively engaged in the discussion of the amount and division of their booty, is easily comprehended; but, to perceive the same thing in men professing to be gentlemen, possibly Christians, men wearing the livery of one of the most powerful monarchs of the earth, warriors by profession, was a circumstance equally incomprehensible and disgusting.

The Cerberus and the Telémaco came to anchor at the same time in the harbour of Tortola, on the 22d of April, 1807. The agent for prizes, a Mr. Dougan, came on board, and to him were delivered the ship's papers. He then very civilly accompanied me on shore to aid me in procuring lodgings. This being accomplished, I returned on board, at the expiration of about two hours, to take my baggage on shore; and to my surprise found, that during that short interval, Dougan had been on board, had broken open my writing-desk, and had abstracted from it all my private letters and papers. This wanton outrage was entirely unnecessary, as he might have had the key by asking for it; but it served to open my eyes to a character whose conduct, throughout the business, proved him to be a worthy coadjutor of Admiral Cochrane.

From a merchant of the place, who happened to be present when the Judge and Dougan were examining the papers together, I learned that the Judge could not then perceive any cause for confiscating the property. The voyage, he admitted, as appeared by the documents, was begun at New York for American account. The proceeds, at Rio Janeiro, of the investment, was sufficient to purchase the property under adjudication. It was shipped at a neutral port, on board a neutral ship, for neutral account, and consisted of no article contraband of war. On what plea, then, could it be condemned? was a question, that required much ingenuity to solve, — the more especially, as Dougan was then heard to say to the Judge, on his expressing a doubt, that if this prize escaped condemnation none others should be sent to Tortola, but he would advise their being sent into one of the other Islands for trial. Whether this threat had any influence in the final decision is known only to themselves, but that it was so intended is obvious.

There was no choice of a person to act as counsel for the defendant, for there was at Tortola but one individual for that office, who served on all prize cases, and whose sympathy was enlisted entirely on the side of the plunderers. Under such discouraging circumstances, and entertaining no doubt of what would be the result, I should instantly have abandoned the property and wasted neither time nor money in attempting to defend a case already prejudged; but my duty to the underwriters, if the property had been insured, and the propriety of securing an appeal, forbade this course, and induced me to wait the tardy process of the court. The farce of trial was of becoming duration, and was conducted with the same forms and solemnity, as if the objects had been to elicit truth and to administer justice.

As the case of the Telémaco was perfectly plain, involving no intricate point whatever, it was impossible that the Judge should have perceived, in thirty days, any more cause of confiscation than was discoverable on the first examination of the papers; hence it is probable, that his mind was made up soon after the threat of Dougan, and that the trial was neither more nor less than a shield to cover an act of villany. The ship and cargo were condemned, as good and lawful prize to Admiral Cochrane, on two grounds,—the one being that of pursuing a voyage in time of war, which is not permitted in time of peace; the other, "the inadmissibility of a continuity of voyages."

It is but doing justice to the honorable feelings of a young naval commander, who had recently arrived on this station, and who was yet uninitiated in the atrocious practices peculiar to it, to mention, that, when informed by a friend of mine of the decision of the court, and the reasons for it, he indignantly, and perhaps imprudently, termed it no other than licensed piracy. Those of my fellow-citizens, of more recent times, who, by the ameliorating influence of their commercial relations with England, have imbibed the most lofty, and, I doubt not, just ideas of the honor, good faith, and integrity of British merchants, may find it difficult to credit the fact, that, only thirty years ago, the government of which they are subjects could sanction such atrocities as those I have detailed; or that a British Admiral existed, who would condescend to use such base, cruel, and wicked means for the augmentation of his private fortune. But the thousands of my fellow-citizens, who were ruined at this period by being stripped of their property, on equally frivolous pretexts, will corroborate the accuracy of my statement.

The Telémaco and cargo being condemned, it was no easy matter for the prize agent to dispose of them, excepting at a very great sacrifice. The ship possessed an intrinsic value at Tortola, which the cargo did not. To have unloaded, with a view of transporting it in other vessels to the Havana, where only a sale was to be found for it, would be incurring a great expense and labor, of doubtful remuneration. Hence, there was an evident necessity of selling the ship and cargo together, and it would be impossible to effect this, with the fact before the eyes of the purchaser, that the property had just been confiscated for being bound to the only place where it could be disposed of. The prize agent was extremely embarrassed with the peculiarity of this case, aware that, without the intervention of a neutral, nothing could be made of it. In this extremity, he made a proposal to me to take it at about half its original cost, and, as an inducement, would engage to provide protection against detention by British cruisers on its way to Havana. What effrontery! What impudence! What villany! To rob me of my property on pretext of inadmissibility of voyage, and then propose a passport for the more safe prosecution of the same voyage, for pursuing which the property was confiscated!

That the atrocity of this case may be viewed in all its bearings at once, I will make some repetitions, even at the risk of being considered tedious. Of the perfect neutrality of this property, there was not suggested nor did there exist in the mind of any one a doubt. The cargo consisted of no article contraband of war, and was not destined to a blockaded port. We had been subjected to a rigid scrutiny by three different British ships of war, and neither of them saw any reason for detaining us. Without the formality of looking at our papers, or even of seeing an individual belonging to the ship, Admiral Cochrane ordered her to be taken possession of and to be conducted to Tortola for adjudication. At Tortola the ship and cargo were condemned as good and lawful prize. The cargo being of a description that embarrassed the prize agent to know what to do with it, he proposed, as an inducement for me to buy it in, to provide a passport, which should secure it against British capture on the way to its original destination. Had this event, and others resembling it, with which the times were fertile, occurred in the Dark Ages, when might and right were synonymous, they would have been in keeping with the state of the human mind at that time; but, in the nineteenth century, the age of enlightened benevolence and high moral sense, that any pressure of war should be sufficient to induce a Christian government to encourage or sanction such robberies, will be matter of amazement and regret to those, who have since come upon the active stage of life, and who learn from the reminiscences of their seniors, that such were the actual facts.

Although the proposal, before mentioned, came from so suspicious a source, and might be designed to plunge me into deeper ruin, yet it was so tempting, holding out the prospect, even with the curtailment of one half the capital, of retrieving my fortune, that, however much the chance was against my being able to raise the requisite sum, I determined to spare no efforts for the attainment of so desirable an object.

To have made the attempt at Tortola, would have been useless. The merchants of that place had become so much inured to scenes of ruin and misery, as to view the victims of their freebooters with feelings of contempt, rather than sympathy. My only hope, therefore, was to go to St. Thomas, and there endeavour, by hypothecating the vessel and cargo, by bills on the United States, or by dividing the adventure into shares, to raise the requisite sum to ransom the property. Accordingly, a droger being then about to sail for that place, I took passage in her, and left Tortola late in the afternoon.

The breeze, during the night, was very moderate, and the vessel was making such slow progress, that the master calculated on arriving off the port not before daylight. There must, however, have been great ignorance of the danger, or very careless steering, or perhaps both; as, between one and two o'clock in the morning, we had run on to a ledge of rocks. Being waked by the hard striking of the vessel, my first impression was, that we were alongside some ship in the harbour; but a second and third concussion, and a great bustle on deck, satisfied me, that we were in danger. I then immediately jumped out of my berth, and found the water above my ancles, on the cabin floor. Taking my clothes in my hand, I ran on deck, and hastily put them on. By this time the vessel had so settled and heeled over, as to bring the water nearly to the coamings of the hatches, on the lee side of the deck; and it was very evident, that both vessel and cargo would be a total loss. The vessel was about twenty tons burden, and was laden with coffee in bulk. As my little trunk floated towards the companion-way, it was seized by one of the men, and put into the boat.

Not more than half an hour had elapsed from the time the vessel struck, before she had filled. The crew, consisting of four persons and myself, embarked in the boat, and left the wreck, from which nothing could be saved. Arriving at the landing just as the day began to break, I was obliged to wait the moving of the people, before I could find any one to conduct me to the inn.

In the mean time, the owners of the vessel and cargo had heard a rumor of their loss, and had come to the landing to ascertain the particulars. These were given by the master and men then present; and, having heard the dismal recital, which closed by the information, that the loss was total, they broke out in exclamations, showing the depth of their distress. The vessel was owned by a Dane; the cargo by a Frenchman. It was to each his all, and the fruit of many years' hard toil; and it was uninsured. The expression of the effects of the disaster, on each, was truly characteristic. The Dane evidently felt his loss deeply. He was sad, melancholy, silent, excepting now and then an exclamation of "My God! what a misfortune! what a pity!" The Frenchman, feeling all the horrors of being reduced to beggary from comparative independence, gave full vent to those feelings, in a most undignified manner. He cried, groaned, wrung his hands, threw his hat on the ground, and stamped upon it, exclaiming, every instant, "O mon Dieu! mon Dieu! quel malheur!" and acting like a perfect maniac. The sympathy of the good people, who had collected in considerable numbers, was evinced in their attempts to soothe him; but any consolation, offered at this moment, was unheeded and useless.

Being incapable of assuaging the grief, or of rendering any service to these unfortunate people, I left them as soon as I could procure a negro to take my trunk, and show me the way to the inn. When there, my first object was to procure dry clothes. Mine were all wet, those in my trunk as well as those I had on; and no other resource was presented me, than that of wrapping myself in a borrowed cloak, and waiting in my room until some of them were dried. This was accomplished in due time; and then, being greatly refreshed by a good breakfast, I walked out to see the town, and to find the merchants to whom I had letters. I had a long interview with each. They were very civil and friendly, and were not deficient in expressions of sympathy for my misfortunes, nor of denunciations for what they termed the villany of the Vice-Admiralty Court, in encouraging and sanctioning such acts of piracy. But they declined advancing me any thing to redeem my property, in either of the several modes I proposed to them, probably for the very good reason, that, as the property on its way to Havana would be secure against British capture, there would exist no other than the sea risk, and, therefore, they could avail themselves of the entire advantage of the operation.

Having ascertained, that a vessel would sail from hence for New York in about a fortnight, it was very desirable, that I should not lose the opportunity of going in her, seeing that now all hope of re-purchasing my ship was annihilated. Accordingly I returned to Tortola the fourth day after leaving it, and immediately set about making the necessary arrangements for taking a final leave of this abominable place. Dougan expressed regret, that I had not succeeded in raising the means to enable me to accept his proposal; but, with the passport, there was no doubt some neutral from St. Thomas would be forthcoming, who would readily make the purchase.

Having settled my accounts, and secured my appeal papers, I left Tortola on the 25th of July, more than a month from the date of my arrival. During that month, scarce a day passed, in which I was not subjected to some angry altercation, some unnecessary provocation, some feverish excitement, from my opponents; or some trouble and anxiety from complaints and uneasiness of the officers and crew of our ship; and this, under the scorching influence of a vertical sun. But I had the happiness to escape the fever, which this combination of causes was so well calculated to produce, and to retain my health. As I left the harbour, on my way to St. Thomas, I passed near the Telémaco, which lay there by virtue of the right of the strong over the weak. The distinction between this act of piracy, and those of a like character by the ancient buccaniers, must be perceived to co[illegible] in the circumstance, that the former is [illegible] by kindred banditti, termed a Vice-Admiralty Court; and the latter were too honest and magnanimous to practise such hypocrisy. The annals of the times, however, were fertile in the detail of such atrocious invasions of the rights of neutrals; the one party justifying its thefts, by the thefts and burnings of the other.

To have practised the self-denial incident to leaving my family for so long a time; to have succeeded in reaching Rio Janeiro, after being dismasted, and suffering all the toils and anxieties incident thereto; to have surmounted, happily, the numerous obstacles and risks attendant on the peculiarity of the transactions in port; to have accomplished the business of lading and despatching the vessels, in defiance of great obstacles, and to perceive the fortune almost within my grasp, which would secure to me ease and independence for the remainder of my life; and then, by the irresistible means of brute force, to see the whole swept off, in so atrocious and cruel a manner, and myself and family thereby reduced, in a moment, from affluence to poverty, must be admitted to be a calamity of no ordinary magnitude. It required, indeed, the exercise of great fortitude and patience, and naturally led to the perception of the acknowledged truth, that mankind experience a greater amount of misery from the evil passions and wickedness of their fellow-men, than from all the effects of hurricanes, lightning, earthquakes, and the warring of the elements combined.

Fortunately, I possessed an elasticity of mind, which adapted itself to circumstances. I was accustomed to conte[illegible] difficulties, and disciplined by a long cou[illegible] and disappointments; and, when suffering [illegible] them, I habitually looked round for the means to remedy them. I was soon enabled, therefore, to throw off much of the weight of this misfortune. Some mitigation of its effect was produced, by cherishing the hope, that insurance on the property might have been effected, and that the Aspasia might have accomplished her voyage successfully. Although no m[illegible] could be expected from the Appeal, than the sum for which the property had been sacrificed; and this sum would, necessarily, be much reduced by lawyers' fees and merchants' commissions, before reaching my hands; yet even this served to buoy up my spirits, under their excessive pressure.

Arriving again at St. Thomas, I found the ship destined for New York, nearly ready for sea. Although a stranger in the place, there were none of the usual attractions for beguiling the tedious hours of one in my unfortunate circumstances; and the necessity for an additional day's delay increased my impatience.

At length, on the 8th of June, we took our departure from St. Thomas, and, on the 30th of the same month, arrived at New York, after a passage as pleasant as there was reason to expect at this season of the year. We had several invalids on board, which obliged us to pass four days in quarantine at Staten Island.

This, under different auspices, would have been a pleasure, and even as it was, the arrival from sea, the enchanting picture from the terrace of the quarantine house, the supply of the various refreshments of the season, the daily papers, which came regularly to us, and, more than all, letters from my family announcing that all were well, combined to lessen the tedium of my [illegible].

On being relieved from quarantine, on [illegible] July the master of the Telémaco and myself [illegible] to the city, arriving there amid the din of arms [illegible] all the noise and bustle of the celebration of the national jubilee. At this moment the public mind was greatly excited at the outrage committed on the Chesapeake frigate, by the British squadron then within the waters of [illegible] United States, and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that war was the inevitable consequence.

Having been informed, that an intimate friend and relation from Boston was in town, who I knew would be able to give me the requisite information as to the state of my affairs, I lost no time in seeking him; but it was hastening only to be the earlier acquainted with disasters, even greater than I had imagined. On meeting him, I perceived a shadow cast over that benevolent countenance, which had hitherto always beamed with smiles and joy when meeting me after an absence, which augured but too clearly, that my worst anticipations were about being confirmed. He told me, that, in consequence of the promulgation of some new orders in council about the time my letters arrived, desiring insurance to be made, the officers became so alarmed that it could not be effected at a less premium than thirty-three and one third per cent, which my friends would not consent to give; hence no insurance had been made on the property, and the loss was for account of Mr. Shaler and myself. Nor was this all; he was pained to say, that the Aspasia and cargo were, also, a total loss. The melancholy detail was, that she had arrived safe at Havana and sold the cargo at fifteen dollars per quintal, and, with the proceeds, about thirty [illegible] dollars, had laden with coffee and sugar, [illegible] New York; that when off Cape Hatteras a gale [illegible]ountered, in which the vessel was thrown on her [illegible] ends and half filled with water, which ruined the cargo. The master, Rogers, had been swept away and lost, and she finally reached Norfolk in a most distressed state, where the amount of all that was saved was little more than sufficient to pay the wages of the men. To crown the whole, the agent at New York had not been informed of this shipment, and consequently no insurance had been effected. I could not imagine any addition to these misfortunes, because I had nothing more at risk; yet I perceived, that there was something to be yet unfolded. To this overwhelming detail was yet to be added another item, which would fill my cup to overflowing,—the failure of a friend and relation, on whose paper I was an endorser and had become responsible for the sum of six thousand dollars. The aggregate of these losses, estimating the value of the Telémaco's cargo at the same rate the Aspasia's was sold, and the ship at what was paid for her, and independent of all profit on an investment of the funds at Havana for New York, would amount to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

All doubts relative to the entire prostration of my fortune were now solved; all hope of there being some remnant left me was annihilated, and the world was to be begun anew, under the pressure of increased responsibilities. But the reflection, that no part of this property was on credit, that I had not involved others in my losses, was eminently consolatory. And the pleasing contemplation of meeting my family again, after this first and long absence from them, and before having experienced any thing of the inconvenience and embarrassments resulting from such misfortune, conduced to check their naturally depressing effects on my spirits.

The weight of our misfortunes bore not less heavily on the Portuguese Captain than on myself, although his was only the loss of time; but his course in life had hitherto been one of uninterrupted smoothness. This was the first serious misfortune he had experienced, and it so afflicted him, that continued encouragement was required to enable him to support it with becoming propriety. Fortunately for him he was not destined to wait long for a passage for Lisbon. An opportunity presented itself immediately, by which I procured him a passage, defrayed the expense of it and bade him adieu, most probably for ever.

As there was no further cause for detaining me in New York, I bent my course homeward and arrived there on the 8th of July, 1807, — a period that will never be obliterated from my memory, — when the joy of embracing my family once more in health was in bitter conflict with the distress resulting from the consciousness of the years of separation, that were inevitable in the renewed efforts requisite for their maintenance.

Those, who have found sufficient interest in the preceding pages to be induced to follow me in my subsequent enterprises, will find abundant evidence, that my forebodings were fully realized in the repeated, long, and painful separations from those, whom it was no less my [illegible] than it would have been my happiness to watch over and protect. Compelled to navigate for the support of my family, and deprived in consequence of superintending the education of my children, worn with anxiety, and sick at heart by hope deferred, it will be seen, that I was for many years an exile from all that rendered life dear and desirable,—and this as a consequence of the robbery of my hard-earned fortune by Admiral Cochrane. If his enjoyment of this property, so wickedly obtained, bears any proportion to the years of suffering caused the proprietor by its loss, it affords the strongest presumptive evidence of a perversion of mind, which must meet its correction hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

English Aggressions. — Embargo. — Voyage to Africa. — To Halifax and to Europe. — Arrive in the Clyde. — Proceed to London. — Project a Voyage to the Isle of France. — Defeated. — Illness at Exeter. — Recover. — Go to Holland. — Lade a Ship for New York. — Take Charge of Despatches for the United States. — Arrival at Baltimore.

The long-continued course of spoliation by British cruisers, on the defenceless commerce of the United States, had, at length, roused the indignation of the people to such a degree, that they viewed war as a less evil than its longer endurance; when the insult to the national flag, in the attack on the frigate Chesapeake, seemed to render such an event inevitable. The embargo, which was the immediate consequence, was viewed as a measure of prudence and sound policy. Those of our merchants who were about engaging in foreign voyages, abandoned their plans; those who had supplies of foreign merchandise in store, were making calculations on an advanced price; and those who had property abroad were using their utmost exertions to get it home. To aid in promoting the views of the latter class, special permissions were granted by our government, for vessels to proceed in ballast, in various directions. The peculiar state of the times having prevented my engaging in any enterprise, on my own account, I accepted the proposal of some merchants of

Salem, to go in pursuit of a vessel of theirs to the coast of Africa. The latest accounts from this vessel were, that after having succeeded in collecting a rich cargo, the captain had died, and that the mate continued on the coast, to dispose of some portion of the outward cargo, which yet remained unsold.

Accordingly, the brig Star being prepared for the purpose, and provided with the requisite permission from government, I sailed from Boston for the coast of Africa, in the month of April, 1808. Our accommodations being spacious and airy, and the voyage to be performed in the summer months, I was induced, no less for our mutual gratification, than for the promotion of his health, to invite my father-in-law, the venerable ex-collector of the port of Salem, to accompany me.

Our passage out was pleasant and expeditious, arriving off the river of Senegal on the twenty-seventh day after leaving Boston. The wind, which had blown strong the day before our arrival, had not subsided when off the town; and the surf beat so heavily on the beach as to prevent any communication. We stood off and on all day, as near the shore as was prudent, in the hope that some canoe would succeed in making way through the surf, and come off to us; but, at each attempt they made, and we saw them make several, their canoes were upset. At length, we perceived them to be leaving the beach, apparently abandoning the design. As I had no expectation of finding the vessel at this place, and hoped only to obtain information of her, I did not consider this object sufficient to justify the loss of another day, and consequently, at dark, bore away to the southward.

Arriving at the Island of Goree the following day, we there ascertained that the vessel of which we were in pursuit was to leeward, most probably at the Isles de Los. Having remained twenty-four hours at Goree and obtained a supply of water and refreshments, we sailed for the Isles de Los, where we arrived without accident. But the vessel sought was not there, having left some weeks previous for Sierra Leone. When on the point of sailing for Sierra Leone, an arrival directly from thence, reported the vessel in question to have sailed the day before my informant for Goree. As the information appeared to be such as could be relied on, it was obvious that a return to Goree was the most judicious course. In conformity with this decision, we put to sea, after having passed forty-eight hours at the Isles de Los; and on arriving at Goree found ourselves in advance of the vessel. The second day, however, after our arrival, she came in and anchored near us.

On going on board, and presenting to the master the letter from the owners, desiring him to deliver to me his cargo, and to take my instructions where to go to lade with a cargo of salt for the United States, he directly complied, and began the requisite preparation for shifting the cargo from one vessel to the other. The cargo, which consisted of ivory, wax, gold dust, and hides, was of great value, and would well justify the additional expense incurred to insure its safety.

While engaged in trans-shipping the cargo into my vessel, an English brig-of-war arrived; the captain of which, on ascertaining the object of my voyage, and probably suspecting that I possessed information relative to the critical state of affairs between England and the United States of which he was ignorant, concluded to take charge of my vessel, in the belief that such information might soon arrive as would make her a lawful prize. With this view, he put a midshipman on board, with directions not to put any obstacle in the way of our shifting the cargo from one vessel to the other, or taking on board that portion of the cargo, yet on shore, which had been prepared against the return of the vessel. When these labors were accomplished, our water-casks filled, and every thing made ready for sea, there had been no arrival; consequently, no information by which the captain could be governed in detaining us. I then wrote him a note, informing him, that I was ready for sea, and, as there existed no cause to justify our detention, I hoped he would withdraw the officer he had put on board, and allow me to proceed; otherwise, I should feel it to be my duty to abandon the property, and take passage in a vessel then about sailing for England, to obtain redress. A few hours after the receipt of my letter, he sent me a verbal message that I might proceed, and at the same time took away the midshipman. No other obstacle occurring to prevent our departure, we sailed on our return; our associate left at the same time for the river Gambia to lade with salt for home.

Goree is an island of very small extent, and in itself is destitute of all resources, but its formation makes it easily defensible against any force which the neighbouring nations are capable of bringing to attack it. Its contiguity to the continent renders it a favorable place for the establishment of European trading factories, of which there are several. To these factories the negroes of the continent are in the habit of bringing the produce of the country, consisting of wax, ivory, gold dust, hides, &c., which they barter for European manufactures and trinkets. Whilst the island was in possession of the French, from whom it had been taken, not many years since, the traffic in slaves was pursued to a great extent. The annihilation of this traffic, on the English becoming masters of the island, caused great discontent among the neighbouring chiefs, who were thereby cut off from the principal source of their revenue, and hence were greatly dissatisfied with the change.

I had an opportunity of seeing, at a merchant's house, three of those princes, who had come to the island in the hope, either by persuasion or threats, to do away the prohibition, or to induce a connivance at it; or to dispose of slaves, to be delivered at one of their own ports. They were all fine looking men, not less than six feet high, and well proportioned. Their costume was in barbaric style, tawdry and showy; and they were decorated with bracelets and other ornaments of gold, peculiar to a savage people. Their side-arms were also much ornamented, and were probably very costly. When conversing with the merchant, on the subject which so much interested them, and with whom in by-gone years they had done an extensive business, they were very earnest and animated. Their unvarying theme was the interdiction of trading in slaves, which, they alleged, on the score of humanity, should be done away with, as, otherwise, their only mode of proceeding with prisoners of war, would be to put them to death, which they seemed to have no hesitation in saying would be the consequence. They were aware that the authorities charged with the government of the island, had no power to alter the existing state of things, much less the merchant, with whom they were conversing; but, as they had made similar observations to the Commandant of the place, they may have entertained the hope, that some representation might be made to the superior government, which would induce it to relax the severity of the law against the traffic in slaves. The threat of destroying the prisoners taken in war, unless they could be sold as slaves, is an argument which has been used by the advocates of the slave-trade, both white and black, throughout the whole extent of the slave coast. But the abettors of this most infamous traffic are as well aware as their opponents, that the wars of Africa are, for the most part, waged for the purpose of obtaining prisoners to be sold to the slave-dealers; and that when these are prevented pursuing their traffic, the principal cause of those wars, which have been productive of so great an amount of misery, and which have depopulated vast regions of country, will cease.

Having sailed from Goree immediately on being released from the detention caused by his Majesty's brig, we proceeded with a fine wind and delightful weather for the United States. The passage proved uncommonly pleasant and rapid, and our invalid, no longer such, had derived all the benefit from the voyage which had been anticipated. During the passage the winds were so steady as to supersede the necessity of reefing a topsail, or even taking in a top-gallant sail; and we arrived at Salem on the 7th of July, 1808, having been absent only ninety-two days, and having accomplished the object of the voyage to the entire satisfaction of all interested in it.

I had been flattering myself, that by the time I should return from Africa, something of a decisive character would have taken place in relation to our affairs with Great Britain; either a cessation of the violation of the rights of neutrals, and the consequent raising the embargo, or the only honorable alternative, war. I perceived, however, on landing, that neither of these events had occurred. The total suspension of all business at the wharves, and the gloomy countenances of those who were unaccustomed to idleness, were but too convincing, that affairs had not changed for the better during my absence. The ordinary bustle of business, and its cheerfulness, had given place to a paralyzing inactivity, and a sombre foreboding, that a calamity, perhaps greater than that intended to be averted, might result from persisting in measures, which were producing such distress and dissatisfaction in the maritime part of the community.

Satisfied that neither of the alternatives, war or a cessation of the embargo, was likely soon to occur, and possessing neither means to justify, nor disposition to submit to inactivity, I determined to proceed to England; and, without any definite object, to place myself in the current of business, and take my chance for a favorable result.

With this view, being provided, by a kind friend, with a credit on London, and accompanied by two companions, whose object was similar to mine, I took passage about the middle of August, 1808, for Halifax. Owing to adverse winds, our passage was tedious; and we failed to reach there in time for the Falmouth packet. More than a fortnight elapsed before there was another opportunity for Europe; and, during this period, we had abundant leisure for becoming acquainted with the localities of the place and its inhabitants. Any description of the former would be superfluous; and I will only remark of the latter, generally, that every opportunity, which I had of conversing with intelligent people, led to the conclusion, that the rancorous hatred of the partisan loyalists existed, in full vigor, in their descendants, undiminished by the lapse of time, or the usually ameliorating influence of commercial intercourse. The existing state of the political relations of the two countries may have operated to produce a manifestation of hostile feeling, which would probably have been suppressed in less exciting times. But it was no place for a citizen of the United States to pass his time in agreeably.

An opportunity presenting itself by a brig bound for Scotland, we left Halifax on the 10th of September, and arrived at Lochraine, in the Clyde, on the 4th of October, having made our passage in safety, although the daily inebriation of the captain and mate caused us to fear a different result. Indeed, we had abundant reason to exult in our good fortune in arriving at the time we did; as, only a few days afterwards, occurred the equinoctial gale, which was uncommonly severe, causing such a number of shipwrecks, and such loss of lives, on the coasts of England and France, as had not occurred in any gale for a long period. We took the easy and independent conveyance of a post chaise for London, a distance of about four hundred miles; and, leaving Lochraine on the day of our arrival, were conveyed to our destination in four days, with a degree of comfort and celerity, such as probably could not be experienced at the time in any other country in the world.

Throughout the whole distance, our way lay through rich tracts of highly cultivated lands, interrupted, at intervals, by neat villages, and churches of venerable aspect. Occasionally, as we had a bird's-eye view from some hill, the divisions, formed by the neatly trimmed hedges, the luxuriant fertility of the inclosures, an occasional clump of trees, and the rich verdure, as far as the eye could reach, gave to the whole the appearance of an immense and beautiful garden. There was nothing remarkable in the villages through which we passed, excepting in one, where I noticed an advertisement over the door of a house, stating, that it was the business of the occupant to show strangers the house, in which Sir Isaac Newton was born. Of the large towns in our route were Dumfries, Carlisle, Penrith, Newark, &c. The latter contains a fine Gothic Cathedral; a door of which being open, we entered, for a few minutes, while our horses were changing, and heard a beautiful chant by some young performers, accompanied by a fine organ.

Arriving at London, my first object was to ascertain the result of the appeal in the case of the Telémaco. It appeared, that the agent of the captors had proposed to compromise, by returning one fourth the amount of the proceeds, on condition of relinquishing the prosecution of the appeal. This proposition, after a consultation with that eminent jurist, Dr. Lawrence, was acceded to, by his advice; and I accordingly received between three and four thousand dollars, for a property which cost forty-seven thousand five hundred dollars. The three fourths, or twelve thousand dollars, therefore, of my property, divided among the fleet, would give to the Admiral a sum so very small, as would hardly induce him, one would think, to violate the eighth commandment.

The abundance of French wines, which had been brought, in prizes, into Plymouth, and their consequent cheapness, convinced me of the advantage which would result from a cargo of them taken to the Isle of France. While in doubt how I could accomplish this object, I accidentally met a friend, who had just arrived in a fine ship, for which he had no fixed destination. This was very *à propos*. On making known to him my views, and offering to take, on my account, one third of the adventure, with the charge of the enterpriſe, he readily agreed to it, provided that a clearance for that destination could be obtained from the custom-house at London. Satisfactory information having been received on this point, the cargo was immediately purchased. When the ship was nearly ready to proceed to Plymouth, to take it on board, some new excise regulation was established, which would prevent our obtaining the requisite clearance; and, as insurance could not be effected without this document, we were compelled, very reluctantly, to give up the plan. This disappointment was much mitigated by such an advance in the value of the wine, that, on a re-sale, the profit on my third part was more than sufficient to defray all my expenses in Europe, including upwards of one hundred pounds sterling for board, medical attendance, &c. in a pleurisy, with which I was seized at Exeter, when on my way to Plymouth. This was the first violent illness I had ever experienced; and, for several days, the physician had such doubts of my recovery, that he considered it necessary to apprize my friends in London of my dangerous situation. To their kindness, in sending a skilful and efficient person to take care of me, I consider myself indebted for my recovery.

About the middle of March I had recovered so far as to be able to go to London by easy stages, and found myself much benefited by the journey. But between two and three months were required to recruit my strength sufficiently to attend again to business. At the end of this period, having so far recovered as to be ready for new adventures, and perceiving that great profit would be derived by taking a cargo from Holland to the United States, I determined on making an effort to accomplish it. But to get to Holland, at this time, was not an easy matter. The rigorous measures, which the continental powers, under the control of Napoleon, were compelled to adopt for the interdiction of all intercourse with England, prevented any chance of success in attempting it in the regular and ordinary way; and the danger was great in trying to elude the vigilance of the harpies, who were everywhere on the watch; but the object seemed to be worth some risk. With these impressions, and accompanied by the friend, who was associated with me in the purchase of the wine at Plymouth, we contracted with the skipper of a Dutch fishing-smack to land us on the coast of Holland. The weather was very fine, and the sea so smooth, that there was no impediment from the surf, to landing anywhere along the coast. Having approached the shore, and watched for some time, without hearing any noise, or seeing any patrol, we landed about eleven o'clock in the evening, having been instructed by the skipper what course to take for the Brille. Each carrying a little bundle, we made our way slowly and cautiously, in the direction advised, over the uneven sand hills, without road or path, and in constant apprehension of being challenged by the patrol, until we arrived so near the Brille, as to hear the clock strike two, and the watchmen announce the hour. We then concealed ourselves in a hollow of the sand, and waited the approach of day.

As the dawn began to break we were startled by a trampling sound approaching us; whether it was a patrol or not, it was necessary to start up to avoid being trodden on. Our relief was great on discovering that it was only a boy driving some cows to pasture. The boy was greatly alarmed at the sight of two men emerging from the hollow of the sand bank, at such an hour, but we soon quieted him and obtained from him very useful directions for finding the tavern. We were received particularly well, both by the landlord and his wife, who were opposed to measures so ruinous to their business, and, consequently, were very ready to aid strangers in any way. They provided for us a most excellent breakfast, the relish for which can be best imagined by those, who have had a similar preparation. When we had finished our repast, we repaired to the *treckschuyt*, or canal boat, to which we had been directed by the landlord, and which was about leaving for the capital. We went on board, among the mass of passengers, and were conducted without molestation to Amsterdam. We immediately perceived, that the difference in the relative prices of the exports of Holland, there, and in the United States, was great in proportion to the embarrassments, which had existed in that commerce; and as the British had given notice, that a blockade would commence on the 1st of July, this difference would necessarily be increased. The inducement, therefore, to get a cargo out before that time was very great; and, for this purpose, unusual exertions were made for us by an influential mercantile house, which were crowned with success. A ship was chartered, loaded, and despatched for New York before the blockade commenced. She arrived there in safety, and our anticipations were fully realized in the result of the adventure.

Having, as I expected, met my friend Shaler at Amsterdam, I was induced to give up taking passage in the ship I had chartered, in order to execute a plan, upon which we had agreed, and which promised an immense result; but this we were afterward unfortunately compelled to abandon, in consequence of the combined obstacles, in addition to the blockade, of the invasion of the Scheldt by a formidable force under Lord Chatham, and of a general embargo in Holland. This seemed to close all prospect of egress for me, excepting by land, and led me to regret not having availed myself of the fine opportunity I had possessed for returning home in the ship I had despatched for New York. Fortunately for me, at this period, our minister to France, General Armstrong, was on a visit to Holland, and, being desirous of sending despatches to the United States, obtained the release of the ship Montezuma of Baltimore, from the effect of the embargo; and she was immediately despatched for that city. In this ship I took passage as bearer of his Excellency's despatches. The ship being in ballast, there existed no cause of molestation from British cruisers; from one of which, a frigate, we were boarded soon after leaving the port. Aware, that an embargo existed in Holland, the boarding officer desired to be informed, why we were released from its effects? The Captain replied, "By special permission of government, granted at the request of the American Minister, to take despatches to the United States, and," pointing to me, "there, Sir, is the bearer of his Excellency's despatches." He then desired me to accompany the Captain of the Montezuma, on board the frigate, and take with me the despatches. This I declined. He then proposed sending the despatches by the Captain. This I refused to do; on which he threatened to use compulsion. During this altercation the frigate had neared us, when the officer hailed and informed the Captain, that there was a bearer of despatches on board. "Bring him and his despatches on board," was the order. The officer replied, "He says he will neither surrender his despatches nor leave his ship, except by compulsion." "Then let him stay and be damned," was the characteristic reply. The ship's papers having undergone the ordinary scrutiny, and being found to be in order, we were permitted to proceed on our voyage.

The passage was long and boisterous, and I had suffered greatly from the effects of a bilious fever, consequent, probably, on too early an exposure to the damp atmosphere of Holland, after my severe pleurisy in England. We arrived at Baltimore on the 3d of November, and, as I was too feeble to proceed to Washington with the despatches, I delivered them to the collector of the customs to forward. After staying a day or two at Baltimore to recruit, I proceeded, by easy stages, to my long desired home, at Lancaster, Massachusetts, and arrived there on the 12th, greatly emaciated and in feeble health.

CHAPTER IV.

Necessity for seeking a milder Climate. — Sail for Naples. — Arrival there. — Confiscation. — Rome visited. — Ship Margaret. — Refused a Passage in her. — Disappointment. — Her Loss. — Buy the Nancy Ann. — Sail with a License. — Boarded by an English Brig of War. — Wrath of the Captain. — Arrive at Lisbon. — Sell my Wine there. — Embargo. — Raised on the Retreat of Massena. — Sail for England. — Arrive at Plymouth. — Narrow Escape from Shipwreck. — Standgate Creek. — Arrive at London. — Termination of my Charge.

Fifteen months had elapsed, between my leaving Boston for Halifax, and my arrival at Baltimore. During that time, although my efforts in business had been impeded by sickness, I had, nevertheless, cause to be satisfied with the progress I had made towards retrieving my affairs. But my constitution had received a shock, which it would require time and care to recover; nor was it deemed prudent, that I should risk the effect of our rigorous climate, during the ensuing winter, but seek a more genial one in the south. As my finances were at too low an ebb to do this without combining some business, that would offer a prospect of, at least, defraying my expenses, it was desirable to adopt some plan, which would unite the two objects.

A departure from the rigor of the continental system was beginning to be manifested. The King of Naples had opened his ports to neutral commerce, and with such appearance of good faith, that insurance on adventures there could be effected at a reasonable premium. A voyage to Naples was therefore decided on; and, for this purpose, in company with a friend, I purchased the clipper-built schooner Maria, of one hundred and seventy tons, and took on board a valuable cargo of various kinds of merchandise, belonging to merchants of Boston, on condition of receiving half the profits in lieu of freight.

On the 3d of December, 1809, only one month from the day of my arrival at Baltimore, I again left my family and sailed from Boston, in the Maria, for Naples. We arrived there in safety, after a very pleasant passage, and, as usual in the Mediterranean ports, were immediately subjected to quarantine. The information I received from the merchant, to whom I had letters, was very gratifying and satisfactory. It appeared from this, that there was no article, of which our cargo was composed, that would not yield a profit of an hundred per cent, and some much more. The prospect, therefore, of making a brilliant voyage was very great, notwithstanding our numerous competitors; for there had now arrived, within a period of thirty days, between thirty and forty vessels from the United States, allured, like ourselves, by the flattering prospect presented on first opening the port, which had been so long closed to neutrals.

While feeling ourselves in perfect security, and making those calculations on a great result, which the direct and well-founded information we had received warranted, and when only about two thirds of our term of quarantine had expired, we had notice of there being rumors in the city, that all the neutral property in port would be confiscated. These rumors were soon after followed by the seizure and sale of the cargoes of those vessels, whose term of quarantine had expired. Captures, confiscations, and burnings at sea, had all been experienced, by my countrymen, by the order of Napoleon, or of some of his satellites. But to invite neutrals into port, with the assurance of protection, and then strip them of all their property, is a refinement in villany, in meanness, in baseness, in treachery, worthy only of the barbarous ages, and of which the civilized world affords no parallel. There could exist no doubt, that my vessel and cargo were destined to share the fate of those mentioned, at the expiration of the quarantine, yet they neither unbent the sails, unhung the rudder, nor took any other precaution to prevent an escape, than to place a gun-boat at the mouth of the harbour. As we lay in the outer tier of vessels, in a very favorable situation for going out, I should not have hesitated making the attempt but from the conviction, that, in case of failure, the insurance would be vitiated. The chance was as four to one in getting clear, yet, from the consideration above mentioned, I, with reluctance, gave it up.

The government was so pressed for money, in order, as was generally supposed, to defray the expenses of a projected expedition to Calabria, that, in several instances, they did not wait for the regular expiration of the quarantine, but, contrary to all former example or precedent, made the pressure of circumstances an excuse for disregarding a law, the violation of which would be death to an individual. They took out the cargoes, and, without even any semblance of the formality of trial, sold them, together with the vessel, in the most hurried manner, and for prompt payment. In this unceremonious manner my vessel and cargo were taken from me, and not even a receipt given for them.

The difference to the sufferer, between this mode of proceeding and that of a British West India Vice-Admiralty Court, is as greatly in favor of the first, as candor is preferable to cunning; as a bold thief to a treacherous one. In the first case, there is no prostitution of common sense and common honesty, in seeking for a cause of confiscation, when already determined on, and, consequently, no expenditure of time or money requisite, to secure the recovery of the insurance. In the second, there is a hypocritical pretence of seeking for justice, by the observance of the formality of trial, where, in nine instances out of ten, the case is prejudged, and where the unfortunate sufferer is stripped of his last farthing, by the insatiable cupidity of the rogues and harpies attached to the Vice-Admiralty Court, but to which he is compelled to submit, or incur the risk of losing the insurance.

In this abominable transaction, there is no doubt the great mover was Napoleon, whose mandate Murat had not the moral courage to disobey, preferring the dishonor and infamy of such treachery, such violation of good faith, to the momentary resentment of the Emperor. There were, at Naples, a great number of people, who were desirous of possessing many articles of the various cargoes, but who were deterred from purchasing, at the government sales, from conscientious scruples, being convinced that "the receiver is as guilty as the thief."

Having now no other care of property, than to provide for my personal expenses, and finding no immediate opportunity for the United States, I employed my time in visiting the numerous objects of interest within a few miles circuit of this ancient city; Pompeii, Herculaneum, Caserta, Baiæ, Pozzuoli, Averno, Vesuvius, &c. I then went to Rome, where I passed several weeks, and had an opportunity of seeing all the great objects of attraction, which have been celebrated for so many centuries, contained within the walls of the Eternal city; and also of visiting Tivoli, Frescati, &c. All of which places and objects have been so repeatedly and well described, by professed authors and literary men of both hemispheres, that any extended account here would be superfluous.

On my return to Naples I found, that some arrangement with the government had been made by Captain Fairfield, of the ship Margaret of Salem, by which that vessel would be permitted to proceed to the United States as a cartel; and I was rejoiced at the prospect of so fine and ready an opportunity of returning home. Having charge of a valuable investment of Italian manufactures, I proposed to Captain Fairfield to pay him an unusually high freight for them; but from the apprehension, that their quantity would prejudice the sale of his own investment more than would be balanced by any amount of freight that I could afford to pay, he positively declined. My disappointment was very great; for, if I missed this opportunity, there was no certainty of any other for a long period; yet, having taken charge of the property in question, it would have been a breach of trust to go without it. Those, who remember the melancholy fate of that ship, will perceive the providential escape that I experienced. She was upset at sea. A part of the men and passengers were saved in the boat, after great suffering; a part perished on the wreck; and a few were rescued from it when near expiring.

That I might not be entirely destitute of a resource for getting away, I had taken the precaution to write to London for a British license, to lade a vessel here for that place. This had arrived a few days after my failure of success with Captain Fairfield; and, being provided with the requisite credit to enable me to use the license to advantage, I purchased the brig Nancy Ann (one of the condemned American vessels), and loaded her with a cargo of wine, raw silk, liquorice, rags, &c. for London. The men, whom I employed in navigating this vessel, were just so many saved from the sufferings caused by the loss of the Margaret. No obstacle having been put in the way of the lading and departure of the Nancy Ann, we sailed not many days after the Margaret. Our passage down the Mediterranean was very smooth and pleasant. Nothing occurred to vary its monotony until we approached the straits of Gibraltar, when early, on a very fine morning, we observed a vessel to the eastward, under a crowd of sail, apparently in chase of us; the wind being very light from the eastward. When the hull became visible, we perceived that a gun was occasionally fired; but we kept on our course until the afternoon, when she had so neared us, that her shot fell within a cable's length astern. We then rounded to. A boat was immediately sent to take me and my papers on board the brig of war; for such was the vessel which had been chasing us so long. When the mighty man saw the documents, by authority of which I was screened from English aggression, and which emanated from the same source as his own commission, and, consequently, that he could not molest us, he cursed and swore at a tremendous rate, at our having, as he said, so unnecessarily led him so far out of his way. The Americans, he observed, gave them more trouble than all other neutrals combined; and for that which we had now given him, he swore he would send us in to Gibraltar. Some hasty order was then given, preparatory to the execution of that threat. But when the first ebullition of passion had passed, and this probably occurred the sooner for my making no reply, a moment's reflection convinced him, that, by so doing, he would incur the risk of some expense to himself, without a chance of making us a prize. He therefore, very reluctantly, dismissed us to pursue our course, while he proceeded in an opposite direction.

When off the rock of Lisbon, having the wind ahead, and a pilot being near at hand, I concluded to enter the Tagus, and soon came to anchor near to Belem Castle. This was an important epoch in the annals of Lisbon. The French army, under Massena, were advancing with a confidence, inspired by the acknowledged talents and invariable success of their commander. The combined English and Portuguese army had, deservedly, no less confidence in the skill and intrepidity of their commander, Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose line of defence, at Torres Vedras, could be forced only at the imminent risk of destruction to the invading army. While the opposing armies remained in hostile array, the inhabitants of Lisbon were engaged in preparing their most valuable effects, in order to put them on board the British ships of war at a moment's notice; and that no means of saving their property might be neglected, an embargo was laid on all vessels in port. Affairs remained in this critical state about ten days; when information was received, that Massena declined hazarding an assault; had abandoned his plan, and had begun his retreat. The embargo, in consequence, was immediately raised; and tranquillity and peace were restored to the inhabitants. In the mean time, the Commissary of the army had applied to purchase the wine, composing a part of my cargo; and it was disposed of to him very advantageously. Having passed a fortnight at Lisbon, I took advantage of a convoy bound to England, of about a dozen sail, protected by a frigate. Arriving safely in the channel, I parted with them in sight of the Eddystone, and went into Plymouth, while they pursued their course to the eastward. The winter was one of uncommon severity; and the frequent violent gales were very destructive to the shipping. We had been anchored scarcely twenty-four hours in Plymouth roads, before experiencing a gale, which nearly proved fatal to ship and crew. We lost two anchors; and but for the adroit management of a skilful pilot, who had remained on board, and conducted us to an inner harbour, the voyage would have ended disastrously.

I had hoped, that, as respected myself, the voyage would terminate here, and that I should be relieved from further winter navigation in the channel. Not so; it was necessary, that the vessel should proceed to London; before which, we should be obliged to pass some days in quarantine at Standgate Creek. It appeared, that neither our having been so long at Lisbon, and having ventilated the ship, by discharging the bulk of the cargo, nor our remaining any length of time at Plymouth, would tend to diminish a day of the number prescribed for vessels from the Mediterranean. We hastened, therefore, to arrive there, and succeeded without the occurrence of any mishap. In this truly dreary place, in cold winter weather, and without a fire in the cabin, I was compelled to pass ten days of more tardy progress than I ever experienced before. The day [illegible] our release from this detestable place was one of jubilee to all on board. The vessel and cargo were delivered to the agent at London, where I remained through the winter.

CHAPTER V.

Buy a Vessel and Cargo. — Sail for Copenhagen. — Wrecked on Jutland. — Save the Cargo. — Honest Character of the People. — Arrive at Copenhagen. — Send an Agent to take Charge of the Cargo — French Privateer at Elsineur. — Go to Riga and back. — Import a Cargo from London. — Seized at Copenhagen. — Released too Late. — Frozen Up. — Proceed to Hamburgh. — Bombardment. — Capitulation. — General Hogendorf. — His Civility. — Proceed to Paris. — To Nantz. — To Bordeaux. — Embark in a Clipper. — Pass through an English Fleet of Merchantmen. — Their Dismay. — Often chased, particularly on our own Coast. — Great Superiority of Sailing. — Arrive at New York.

While waiting without employment at London, in the hope that some event would occur in which I might exert my energies, a little vessel laden with wine, arrived from Naples, to the address of my friend. This I could obtain, on terms which were within my compass; and knowing the demand for such kind of wine in Denmark, I purchased the vessel and cargo for that destination. The safety of the voyage depended on our entering direct from Naples without having stopped at any intermediate port; hence the necessity of engaging the same master to proceed in her, and of avoiding any delay in the Thames. Having succeeded in engaging the master and crew, who came from Naples in the vessel, to proceed in her to Denmark, and erased from the log-book the notice of her having touched in England, I embarked as supercargo from Naples. Being all ready, about the middle of August, 1811, we put to sea, taking a good departure from Orfordness Lights on Thursday night. The wind was from the westward and blew a strong breeze during the night and following day. On Friday and Saturday the wind continued favorable. Towards night the wind and sea increased, with very dark weather and occasional squalls. As the captain supposed himself to be fifty or sixty miles from the nearest land, and as the darkness at this season lasted only seven hours, I went to bed with entire confidence in our safety, and in the belief that we should not get sight of the land before eight or ten o'clock, next morning. But the event showed that our calculations were so erroneous as to be accounted for only by a strong current. At dawn, on Sunday morning, I was roused from my slumbers by the hard thumping of the vessel, and the roaring of the breakers in which we were enveloped. The water was passing down the companion-way in torrents; and watching an opportunity, I succeeded in getting on deck, though not without a complete drenching. The vessel lay broadside to the sea, which broke high over her; she, however, having heeled in shore, afforded us some shelter. She soon bilged, and having become water-logged, lay comparatively quiet; and as the tide soon fell so as to leave her dry, we all landed on the beach of Jutland, in safety.

No sooner was it daylight, than the inhabitants came to us in great numbers; and as it was obvious that saving the cargo depended on the best improvement of the time, before the return of the tide, as many were engaged as could work to any advantage, under the direction of men appointed by authority to act on such emergencies. The tide had not ebbed more than a foot at the time the vessel struck, so that the opportunity of saving the cargo was very favorable. The day was fine, and enabled us to dry our clothes. In this process, although our various wardrobes were extended over the beach, and might easily have been purloined, and although there were many persons about us, apparently in very indigent circumstances, we lost nothing. The operation of discharging the cargo being so systematised, that the labor of each one was applied to the greatest advantage, they had so nearly accomplished the unlading, before the tide again flowed into the vessel, as to secure the safety of the entire cargo. It was not until the fourth day after being wrecked, that I could obtain a passport to proceed to Copenhagen; as the magistrate examined each individual separately relative to the origin and object of the voyage, and with great care, and thus became acquainted with our being last from England. A seizure of the whole property was the consequence. Having obtained my passport, a fatiguing journey of three days and nights, over a rough road, brought me to the Danish capital.

As soon as the authorities at Copenhagen were made acquainted with the circumstances of the case, an order was given for the release of the property, and an agent from the house of Ryberg & Co. was despatched to take charge of it. One fourth of the cargo being awarded as salvage, the other three were sold on the strand, at a great profit, and the vessel was sold for the benefit of the underwriters. This disaster, which, at the moment, caused me great pain and disappointment, proved to be a circumstance of great good fortune; for, had we proceeded on our course, without interruption, we should have gone directly into the hands of a French privateer, then lying at Elsineur, ready to pounce upon every defenceless neutral that came in her way. At that period, condemnation was sure to succeed a French capture, on the slightest pretext. There would, consequently, have been no chance of escape for a vessel directly from England.

As soon as my affairs in Jutland were brought to a close, the proceeds were anticipated and invested in an adventure to Riga, to procure a cargo, then much wanted at Copenhagen. I was secured against the Danish privateers, then swarming in the Baltic, by a license from the King. This voyage was completed satisfactorily by a safe return, in November, 1811, and with a small profit. During the ensuing winter, I remained at Copenhagen, and engaged in shipping several cargoes of grain to England from Holstein; and in importations thence, under licenses from the two governments, from which some benefit was derived.

The succeeding summer was one of surpassing interest and excitement. Information had reached us of the declaration of war, by the government of the United States against Great Britain. A circumstance, foreboding events of the most thrilling character; some of which soon followed that information; such as the surrender of Detroit to the enemy, and the triumph over the boasted invincibility of British ships of war, in the capture of the frigate Guerriere by the Constitution. But what bearing was this new state of things to have on my prospects? And what advantage could be made of them to further my views? were questions of no easy solution. A barrier seemed to be placed to my return home, in any other than the expensive way of proceeding to France. Nothing short of the prospect of bettering my fortune, would justify prolonging my stay in Europe; and this prospect was so good, if certain obstacles could be overcome, that I determined on making the attempt.

The protracted and accumulated restrictions on all neutral commerce, and the interdiction of all intercourse between England and France, had caused such an accumulation of every description of merchandise, in the store-houses of the former, as to reduce their prices greatly below the ordinary standard. The same causes had operated, in an inverse ratio, in France. Hence, the difference in the relative prices of many articles of merchandise in the two countries, was so enormous as to be almost incredible. It was obvious, then, that the introduction of a cargo into France from England was an object worthy of great efforts; one which would justify the incurring of great risks, and would require the aid of influential men in office. To elude the rigor of the continental system was an achievement of no ordinary magnitude, and could only be done by means of licenses, and in so circuitous a manner, as to escape the vigilance of the French Douaniers.

After great difficulty and delay, and a most laudable perseverance, our agent at Paris succeeded in obtaining a license for the introduction of a cargo from Copenhagen into Hamburgh via Kiel, to be accompanied with certificates, that the articles composing it were the product of Danish industry and commerce. This first and great difficulty overcome, the next measure was much easier; to obtain from the Danish government a license for the introduction into Copenhagen, of a cargo from England. This was granted, on condition of excepting all articles unaccompanied with properly authenticated certificates of neutral origin. As there existed no apprehension of any embarrassment from the English government, the requisite measures were taken to have shipped at London, such a cargo as was in greatest demand, at its place of destination.

This adventure arrived safely at Copenhagen, in June, and we could immediately have obtained a very great advance on its cost; but the prospect was so much greater at Hamburgh, the place of its destination, that the maxim of the "bird in the hand," &c. did not seem applicable to this case. While engaged in unlading the cargo, preparatory to its being re-laden in the Danish coasters destined for Kiel, we were arrested in our progress, and confounded by one of those difficulties, which could not be foreseen or imagined. It arose from the circumstance of my associate in the adventure having been a British subject. He was one of the proscribed Irish, and was among those engaged in the battle of Vinegar Hill. Since that period, he had been engaged in the mercantile business on the continent, and during the two last years had resided at Copenhagen. Some malicious or envious person denounced him to the government as an English subject; and declared, moreover, that the property he represented was English. In consequence of this, the property was seized, and an investigation instituted, which was prolonged in a manner worthy of the tribunals of Spain.

There was a fatality attending this adventure which was very remarkable. Its possession could be no object to the government, nor had we any serious apprehension of its eventual confiscation; yet, there seemed to be an unaccountable disposition to procrastinate. The government, hitherto, had paid great deference to the representations of our worthy *Chargé d'Affaires*, and, in attempting to procure the release of this property, he exerted himself with as much zeal and earnestness as if it had been his own, but ineffectually. Even a proposal for its release, on giving bonds, was refused. Month after month passed away, and we saw the season rapidly approaching, which would stop the intercourse, by water, between Copenhagen and Kiel, without the power of doing any thing. At length, it was discovered, that the property had been unjustifiably kept from its owners, and consequently it was restored to them. But, unfortunately, the time had gone by when such decision would have been most important to us, for it was now the middle of October. Nevertheless, if the winter did not set in this year earlier than it did the last, we might succeed in transporting our cargo to Kiel.

No exertions were spared for the accomplishment of this desirable object, but we were destined to meet with continued disappointments. One of the coasting vessels had part of a cargo on board to be discharged before lading ours; another had some little repairs to make, and no one was procurable, that would engage in the business, with the spirit that the case so imperiously demanded. The consequence was as we had dreaded; the cold weather commenced six weeks earlier than it had done the last year. By the time the vessels had completed their lading, they were fast enclosed in the ice, and so remained during the winter. Still, though this was a disappointment, as it would greatly retard the realization of our expectations, yet there existed no cause then to apprehend any depreciation in the value of the property in the ensuing spring.

Before Napoleon had experienced any check in his victorious career, a mercantile adventure, predicated on the maintenance of his supremacy, would have been considered a safe one; but Napoleon's power proved itself weakness when contending with the elements. The severe weather, which had been so prejudicial to my operations, continuing to increase as the winter advanced, will long be remembered, by its terribly disastrous effects on the French army in Russia. The destruction of this army was a deathblow to the continental system, and, of course, to all my fair prospects founded on its continuance.

The spring of 1813 opened with an emancipation of Europe from the tyranny of Napoleon. His Russian campaign had been so terribly disastrous, that even the fertility of his great mind was unequal to providing other remedy than such as deferred his prostration a few months. The prospect of the ordinary channels of commerce being once more opened, produced its natural effect on all merchandise at Hamburgh; prices were nominal; there was no sale for any thing; everybody was anxiously waiting the *denouement* of the grand drama. Under such circumstances, it is almost needless to say, that all my hopes from the adventure, with which I had been so long occupied, were destroyed. This adventure, had it reached Hamburgh in time, would have yielded a profit of several hundred per cent, and secured to me independence; but, when it did arrive there, its value was reduced below the original cost, and finally wound up with very considerable loss.

To bring my affairs to a close, with the least possible sacrifice, necessarily consumed a considerable portion of the summer. During this period, the city exhibited on a small scale, and for many days in succession, the turmoil, activity, and excitement, incident to being besieged. The French were attempting to regain possession of it, by a bombardment from the opposite bank of the river, and by repeated efforts, in the nights, to transport a body of troops across. Their means of annoyance by shells, however, were very feeble, and in their attempts to cross the river they were invariably foiled. The city was defended by its own militia, who fought bravely, and like men, who feel that every thing is at stake, which is worth defending. These were supported by a well-disciplined body of Danish regular troops, and by a small number of Russians; the whole commanded by a Russian General. In this state of affairs, none were exempted from bearing arms, not even strangers, as was evinced in my own person; for, being led by curiosity to a point where I heard much firing, I was arrested by a patrol, on the look-out for stragglers, and marched into an enclosure where were many others in the same predicament. To all of us muskets and ammunition were furnished, and here we were kept inactive throughout the day, as a *corps de reserve*. Towards sunset, on a cessation of the attack, we were all released, to our great joy, as we had had nothing to eat all day. While the citizens of Hamburgh were rejoicing at the success of their arms thus far, and encouraged to persevere in foiling the continual attacks of the opposing forces, in order to save themselves from the dreaded domination of the French, they were all suddenly confounded and dismayed by an order from the King of Denmark for the withdrawal of his troops ; an order, understood to be in consequence of the failure of some negotiation of Count Bernstorff with the British Cabinet.

As the principal means of resistance was thus withdrawn, and the remainder were incompetent to justify a longer defence, the authorities determined on capitulating while they were yet in a position to secure advantageous terms. Accordingly, the Russian General with his troops, withdrew towards the north ; the capitulation was consummated, and the French became once more masters of Hamburgh. After a few days when the garrison was quartered, the police regulated, and the quiet of military despotism reigned within the city, a procession was formed, composed of the soldiers, and headed by Marshal Davoust and his staff, in their splendid habiliments, which proceeded to the little St. Michael's church, to aid in the performance of a *Te Deum*, in gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, for giving that success to their arms, which had placed in their power an unoffending people, whose property they intended to plunder by heavy taxation, and whose sons they intended to enslave, by making them conscripts. "*O tempora! O mores!*" Only a few weeks after gaining possession of the city, the French, in their turn, were besieged by the Russians, Cossacks, and Swedes, and this was the state of affairs when I left the city.

Having at length brought my business to a close at Hamburgh, and perceiving no course that I could pursue for retrieving my fortune in Europe, in which there was not great risk, I determined to proceed forthwith to the United States, and there endeavour to obtain the command of a letter of marque for a voyage to China or the Pacific. As the best course for getting most expeditiously to the United States, was evidently via France, I applied to the French commander of the city, General Hogendorff, for a passport. The General, I found, spoke English perfectly well. He was very civil and affable, and desired his secretary not to delay providing me with the passport I asked. He observed to me, that I should run a great risk of being taken and robbed by the Cossacks, who, he said, were very numerous in the vicinity. On the fall of the fortunes of Napoleon, this officer retired to the interior of Brazil, where he passed several years in obscurity, engaged in the humble occupation of collecting and preserving insects, until his death, which occurred there only a few years since. One of the regular government couriers, who have the privilege of taking any person with them, being about to start for Paris, I obtained a seat with him. The car for our conveyance was a most uncouth vehicle; it had two wheels only, and being fixed on the axletree, had no spring; consequently, the jarring in many places, over rough roads, was excessive; but the advantage, night and day, of never having to wait longer for horses, than the time requisite for changing them, was great; although it gave us no other chance to sleep or eat, than while on our way. We fortunately escaped the Cossacks, and arrived at Brussels in safety; but, so excessively fatigued, that I was glad to rest a day or two there, and to depend on the Diligence for conveying me the remainder of the journey.

Arriving at Paris in October, I learned that a fast-sailing ship would leave Nantes for the United States, in about three weeks. After passing a fortnight at

Paris, I took the Diligence for Nantes, to examine the ship in question. She was a beautiful vessel, and was represented to be a very swift sailer; but, it was obvious, that the chance of escape for such a vessel, under equal circumstances, would be less than that of a Baltimore clipper, and I therefore delayed engaging a passage until I should hear from Bordeaux, in answer to my inquiries on the subject. This information was soon received, and was such as determined me to proceed there. I arrived there just in time to secure a passage in a vessel, which might have served Mr. Cooper for his description of the Water Witch; for she was like that portrait in every point. Her commander, Captain Isaacs, was a most experienced and accomplished seaman, and admirably qualified for such a command. With such a combination, I felt no less confidence in making our passage safely, than I should have done in a time of profound peace.

At dawn, on the second morning after leaving the Cordovan, we found ourselves in the midst of a fleet of merchant vessels, which were steering to the south. The confusion which such a suspicious and unwelcome apparition caused among them was very great, and to us, very amusing. Some of those astern, lay by, unwilling to approach us; others let run their mainsail, or brailed up [illegible] spankers, and wore round on the opposite tack; those that were ahead crowded all sail, to increase the distance from us, and spread out, that there might be more chance of escape for some. They were evidently English vessels, though they showed no colors, and their convoy, if they had any, was not in sight. If we had been prepared with the requisite number of men, we could have taken and conveyed to

Bordeaux, almost any number of them; but, neither the strength of our ship's company, the instructions to our commander, or the object of the voyage, would justify our making captures; hence, we did not deviate from our course, but proceeded on to the westward, leaving our frightened neighbours astonished at finding themselves unmolested.

During the passage, we were chased a number of times; and once, at early dawn, on our own coast, we perceived a frigate almost within gun-shot of us. With a fine, brisk breeze, she crowded all sail in chase of us; but we had soon convincing evidence of our great superiority in sailing, as, before noon, although persisting in the pursuit, her hull was not visible from our deck. The next day, the 1st of January, 1814, we arrived safely at New York.

Four years had now elapsed since my departure from Boston, in the schooner Maria for Naples, and during that period, it will have been seen, that no efforts were spared, no deficiency of perseverance evinced, and no opportunity allowed to pass unembraced, which presented the prospect of bettering my fortune. What I attempted, and with what unfortunate results, are detailed in the few preceding pages.

I was once again landed on my native shore, in good health, and with an empty purse; [illegible] buoyed above the immediate pressure of such accumulated disappointments, by indulging the pleasing anticipation of, at least, a short repose in the bosom of my family.

CHAPTER VI.

Invited to take Charge of a Voyage to Teneriffe and Batavia. — Sail from Salem in Ship Exeter. — Dismasted. — Repair the Damages. — Arrive at Teneriffe. — Bad Roadstead of Orotava. — Quarantine. — Mr. Little. — His Hospitality and Benevolence. — Sail from Orotava. — Cape Verde Islands. — Land at Tristan d'Acunha. — Procure Fish and Potatoes. — Jonathan Lambert. — Arrive at, and sail from, the Cape of Good Hope. — Island of Amsterdam. — Arrive at Batavia. — Governors. — Mr. Watt. — Lade the Ship, and put to Sea. — Lose two Men. — Arrive at the Isle of France. — Exchange Produce. — Sail for Home. — St. Helena. — Warned off. — Finish the Voyage by arriving at Boston.

The disastrous result of my long-continued efforts in Europe had deprived me of that independence, which I had so early desired, and, for a course of years, had so successfully realized. I was now under the necessity of accepting employment from any of my more fortunate fellow-citizens, who might desire my services.

Soon after the negotiations at Ghent, and the promulgation of peace, I was invited by some of my Salem friends, to make a voyage to Teneriffe and Batavia; an enterprise, which, within my recollection, was viewed as one of untried and doubtful accomplishment, requiring in the commander uncommon skill, perseverance, and tact; but which, at this time, 1815, is of such every-day occurrence, that I am only induced to narrate mine from the consideration, that its omission would leave a chasm in the story, which may be viewed as unimportant, or otherwise, according to the different tastes of the readers.

Late in the month of July, 1815, I sailed from Salem in the ship Exeter, bound to Teneriffe and Batavia. The ship, which was about three hundred tons, was of a clumsy construction, and, being sheathed with wood, gave us a prospect of long and tedious passages; but the liberality of the owners more than compensated for the additional time requisite for the performance of the voyage.

To meet with an accident in a well-rigged ship, while crossing the Atlantic in summer time, seemed hardly within the bounds of possibility; yet we did not escape. The first ten days after our departure, we had experienced only the light and baffling winds, which are peculiar at this season of the year, and, consequently, had made little progress on our way; but, on the eleventh day, we had a fine breeze from south southwest, which gave us the cheering encouragement of making up for lost time. With topgallant-sails set over whole topsails, a foretopmast studdingsail, the sea tolerably smooth, and going at the rate of only eight knots an hour, in an instant, all three topmasts snapped off close to the caps, and came down with a tremendous crash; the topsail-yards making sad havoc with the courses. The ship being now deprived of her propelling force, lay like a log on the water; and the sea being smooth, enabled us to save all the rigging, sails, and spars. It was a most fortunate circumstance, that no man was aloft at the time, and that none were hurt by the falling of the spars and rigging; for, even with the united energies of all, to bring order out of such a chaos was a laborious task. The men, however, went about the work cheerfully; and, under the direction of an excellent chief officer, with great diligence and exertion, we had our three topsails and courses repaired and set, in three days after the misfortune. It may be inquired, to what I attribute so unusual an accident; for unusual it really was at such a time. I can think of no other cause than that of the spars' being weakened by exposure to alternate wet and dry weather, while the ship was hauled up during the whole of the last war with England. We were able to substitute good fore and mizzen topmasts for those lost; but the main one did not admit of carrying hard sail. Notwithstanding this disaster, we were up with the western islands, passing between Terceiro and St. Michael's on the 11th of August, saw Madeira on the 21st, and arrived at Orotava on the 26th. The day before arriving, and while nearly becalmed, in sight of the Pic of Teneriffe, seeing something on the water, a short distance from us, which appeared like a cask, we lowered the boat, and towed it alongside. On taking it on board, it proved to be a hogshead of fine, old Jamaica spirit. It must have been a long time in the water, as it was covered with barnacles.

Of all the uncomfortable roadsteads in which it has been my chance to load a ship, that of Orotava is the worst. Anchored in fifty-five fathoms of water, with the ship rolling more than when at sea, we are doomed to eight days' quarantine. In the mean time, the wine is prepared to take on board as soon as the quarantine expires. At any time and place, such delays are excessively provoking and tedious; but, in such a roadstead as this, the fatigue and ennui amount nearly to a state of torture. The eight days, however, were passed without accident; and, immediately on their completion, I received a polite invitation from Mr. Little (the merchant from whom I received my cargo), to dine with him, and to take up my quarters at his house, for the little time that remained, while lading the wine, which I very readily accepted.

This gentleman and accomplished merchant is successor to the house of Pasley, long famed for its honorable mode of conducting business; a fame, which is in no degree less merited by the present house. The hospitality of Mr. Little is acknowledged by all who visit the place; and he has given such evidence of his philanthropy and benevolence, as to be honorably noticed by the king. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in the island, when all were flying who possessed the means, he remained; and, by the judicious application of pecuniary aid, by the encouragement of his presence, and by his personal assistance, he probably saved the lives of hundreds, though at the most imminent risk, as he barely escaped being a martyr to his humanity.

On the 3d of September, having completed our lading, and taken leave of my kind host, I went on board, and prepared to go to sea; but we soon perceived, that, with an ordinary windlass, the united force of our crew was insufficient to heave up the anchor, with such a weight of cable in addition; and we were compelled to avail ourselves of the services of the men who came off with me. Even with this aid, we were a long time getting our anchor; but the task was at length accomplished. The boat, with the foreigners, left us. We made sail; and every one on board was rejoiced to leave a place which was so exceedingly uncomfortable

On our way to the south, we passed between the Cape de Verde Islands, and not far to windward of Fogo; crossed the equator in the usual longitude, and, making our way with all diligence to the southward, the next land we saw was Tristan d'Acunha. As we could touch at this island without much loss of time, I determined to do so. Accordingly, approaching the north-west end we saw a smoke, and, when within about a mile of it, I sent the boat ashore with directions to ascertain who were the inhabitants, to procure from them whatever eatables they might have to spare, and to be absent no longer than was necessary for the accomplishment of these purposes, — the ship, in the mean time, lying off and on under easy sail. After an absence of about four hours, the boat returned with a good supply of excellent potatoes and a plenty of very fine fish. The officer reported, that there were only three men on the island, who appeared to be Portuguese or Italians, and on inquiring of them what had become of Lambert, they said he had been drowned, with others, in attempting to go to Inaccessible Island.

Jonathan Lambert was a native of Salem and a school-mate of mine. He was a man of good capacity and much eccentricity. Having been unsuccessful in his endeavours by navigation to acquire a competency, and being disgusted with commerce and with the world, he formed the project of establishing himself on this island, which, from its healthy climate, virgin soil, and being in the track of vessels bound to India, might be made an object of attraction to such as were in want of supplies. Accordingly, with several others of no less desperate fortune than himself, but very inferior in point of education and capacity, he landed on the island; and when they had produced enough for the supply of ships, he caused a notice thereof to be published in the Boston papers, inviting ships to stop and obtain such refreshments as he could supply. Not long after this, it was reported, that he had perished in attempting to go to Inaccessible Island; but, as he was of an irritable, tyrannical temper, his friends have supposed it to be more probable, that his comrades, unable to bear with it, had put him out of existence.

As our main-topmast could not be depended on, and we were often compelled to lessen the sail on it, to the prejudice of our passage, I concluded it would be a saving of time to stop at the Cape of Good Hope and procure a new one. This we did, and sailed again for the eastward, after a detention of four days. The only deviation we experienced from the accustomed monotony of such a passage, was that of lying by near the Island of Amsterdam, and, in the course of an hour, nearly loading our boat with excellent fish. They were about the size of the cod, and had some resemblance to that fish. At length, on the 31st of January, 1816, we came to anchor in Batavia Roads, nearly six months from the time of our departure from Salem.

The havoc, which in former voyages I had seen made in ship's companies by the fever, which is more or less prevalent at this place at all seasons of the year, induced me to take uncommon precautions to preserve the health of my men. With this view, I hired natives to go in the boats, to hoist in the cargo, and to perform all such duties as would cause an exposure to the sun. My men were seldom allowed to go on shore, and when occasionally such permission was granted, they refrained from the usual practice of seamen, of drinking to excess, although no alcohol was provided for them on board ship. The consequence was, that, though we were nearly two months in port, we had no man sick during that time.

While at Batavia, both the English and Dutch Governors were present; the former, Sir Stamford Raffles, then surrendering the command of the Island to the person appointed by the government of the Netherlands to receive it. The revulsions in the price of produce, caused by the sudden changes in the political state of the country, had been taken advantage of by some of the foreign residents, by which they acquired great fortunes. Among the number, I was much gratified to find my friend Mr. Watt, a worthy young Scotchman, who was Captain's clerk in the ship Cronberg, in which I was a passenger and freighter from the Isle of France to Denmark, in the year 1801. At that period, as respects property, he was a poor man, but rich in intellect and commercial sagacity, of which he gave evidence in availing himself of the opportunities as they presented themselves of acquiring a fortune, greater than is often gained in a long and industrious life; but the enjoyment of it was not permitted him. Before embarking for Europe he had imbibed the seeds of disease, and, sickening on the passage, died at the Cape of Good Hope.

Having accomplished my business at Batavia, by lading the ship with coffee and sugar, and not meeting a sale for the wine I had brought from Teneriffe, I determined to stop at the Isle of France in the hope of being able to dispose of it there. Accordingly, about the middle of March, I left Batavia Roads, exulting in the circumstance of having had no one sick during my stay there, and of leaving the place with the crew in as good health as on the day of their arrival. But my exultation was but of short duration, for no sooner had we passed Java Head and were in the open sea, where I supposed the danger of sickness no longer existed, than three of my men were seized violently and almost simultaneously with fever. Only one of the three recovered; the other two lived but a few days after being attacked. These were the first and only men I ever lost by sickness, and their death and burial spread a sadness over their surviving shipmates, of which some traces remained even to the end of the passage.

The trade wind, which we took immediately after passing Java Head, continued so steady and strong as to carry us to the Isle of France in thirty-two days, which was a fine passage for our ship. From the two long visits, which I had made to this place in 1794 and in 1800, I was as familiar with its localities as if it had been my home. These, on my present visit, were unchanged, but these were all that remained unchanged. Since I last left the place it had become a colony of the English by conquest. English government and laws had superseded those of France; and English manners, customs, and modes of doing business, were gradually making encroachments on those of the French inhabitants, which is not unusual with a subjugated people, when their conquerors are generous and conciliating.

It was soon apparent, that an immediate sale of my wine could not be made, nor was the object sufficiently important to detain the ship. I therefore placed it in the hands of a merchant, and received from him an amount of the produce of the island, equal to what he estimated the wine would sell for; and this occupied about the space in the ship, which the wine had done. These interchanges being accomplished, we left the Isle of France, towards the last of April, for home.

The passage round the Cape and thence to Boston was a continued series of fair winds and pleasant weather; and the only incident, which occurred to break in upon the monotony of such a passage, was that of being boarded, when in sight of St. Helena, by an English brig of war, which was cruising near the north side of the island for the purpose of preventing the entry of vessels there, during the detention of the Emperor Napoleon. The boarding officer was very polite; said their orders were positive to allow no vessel to go in; that provision was made at the Island of Ascension to supply ships with water, and that if we had not enough to carry us there, he would furnish us with sufficient for that purpose; but we were not in want of any thing. Our detention, therefore, was but of short duration, and, taking our departure from St. Helena, we had a pleasant passage to Boston, where we arrived in August, 1816; thus accomplishing the voyage in safety, and to the satisfaction of all interested therein.

CHAPTER VII.

Preliminary Remarks. — Departure from New York. — Passing Reflections. — Passage to Cape de Verde Islands. — Tornado. — St. Paul's on the Equator. — Pernambuco. — Rio de la Plata. — Cape Horn. — Embayed. — Passage of the Cape. — Land on the Island of Mocha. — Arrival at Talcahuana. — Visit of the Authorities. — Sketch of them. — A Guard sent on Board. — Our Men taken away. — Prohibition of Communication with our Countrymen of the Canton.

The general peace of the civilized world, at this time, by producing great commercial competition, made it difficult for the most experienced merchant to project a voyage, in which the chance of loss would not be equal to that of gain. From this consideration, after returning from Batavia, I declined engaging in any other voyage till the early part of the year 1817, when, being at New York at the time intelligence reached there of a revolution in the kingdom of Chili, by which the people had emancipated themselves from the royal government, it occurred to me that I might profit by it.

This event, by freeing the commerce of that country from the severe and paralyzing restrictions to which it had hitherto been subjected, by throwing open those ports to the commerce of all nations, which for ages had been sealed to foreigners, seemed to present very flattering prospects to those merchants, who should be first in availing themselves of it.

The knowledge I had acquired, in my voyage in the

Lelia Byrd, of the wants and commercial resources of the country, gave me advantages, which few of my enterprising countrymen then possessed. It was very desirable to turn this knowledge to the best account, by planning and executing a voyage thither. With this view, I submitted a plan to that enterprising, intelligent, and wealthy merchant, John Jacob Astor, Esq., who, though aware of the risks attending it, was not slow to perceive, and be convinced of the promised advantages; and, with characteristic decision, he determined to engage in it.

As Mr. Astor acceded to my terms as master and factor, and showed equal liberality and good judgment in leaving every thing to my discretion, an agreement was soon concluded, and measures immediately taken to prepare the ship and to purchase the cargo. His favorite ship Beaver, (the same mentioned in Irving's "Astoria,") had just been repaired, at an expense nearly equal to that of building her anew, and was thus rendered proper for the contemplated voyage. Her equipment being under the superintendence of an experienced and accomplished seaman, Captain John Whitten, who was largely interested in the adventure, was in every respect complete. The cargo, consisting principally of European manufactures, to the amount of a hundred and forty thousand dollars, and the ship, with stores, valued at fifty thousand, formed an aggregate, which, it is probable, no other individual in the United States would have risked on a voyage so full of dangers and uncertainty.

On the 28th of June, 1817, the lading being completed, men shipped, and every thing in readiness for sea, the ship was anchored in the stream, to secure the services of the men, on which little reliance could be placed, while lying at the wharf. At four o'clock, on the morning of the 1st of July, I was roused by the pilot to go on board; and, in conformity with previous agreement, called on Mr. Astor, who, at this early hour, was up and waiting for me. After a short interview, I took leave, and repaired on board, where I found all engaged, under the direction of the pilot, in heaving up the anchor.

With a fine westerly breeze, and a strong ebb tide, we passed rapidly on our way, and were soon outside of Sandy Hook, where the pilot left us. The day was remarkably fine, the sea smooth, and before twelve o'clock the highlands of Neversink were no longer visible. Before the day closed, a trial with other vessels, bound to the eastward, satisfied me that the ship sailed well and steered easily. The watch being set at eight o'clock, as usual, and the course to be steered during the night being given, I paced the deck till midnight, pleased with the quiet, which had so suddenly succeeded the bustle of getting away, and gave to the mind ample scope to dwell on scenes past, present, and to come. There are few who have not experienced the pain of bidding farewell to beloved relatives, even though the time of separation is limited to a few weeks; and thence may be able to form some idea of their feeling of desolateness, of home-sickness, whose destiny compels them to separate for years, perhaps for ever. Nor could the flattering confidence manifested by my employers, in the superb ship under my command, the valuable cargo consigned to me, the entire and unrestricted control of both, and the reasonable prospect of a happy result, tend to diminish the sadness, which a recurrence to home invariably produced. Time, however, and the imperious duties of my station, gradually lessened the poignancy of these feelings; and hope, ever buoyant hope, cheered the drooping spirits by pointing to a period, though distant, of a happy consummation of my wishes.

Our passage, as far as the parallel of the Cape de Verde Islands, afforded no incident worthy of note. It was none other than the calm, unruffled smoothness of a summer's sea, which for those who are impatient to make a passage quickly, is much more irksome than the boisterous weather peculiar to high latitudes.

While passing those Islands, we experienced one of the tremendous tornadoes, so common at this season, from the African shore; and from the effects of which mischief may be averted, by the warning they invariably give. By clewing up all sail in season, and scudding before it, we escaped injury. Such squalls are seldom of more than half an hour's duration, when a calm invariably succeeds, generally for a longer period; during which the heat is oppressive, the atmosphere lifeless, and the unmanageable ship is tumbling about in the sea caused by the tornado.

Approaching the equator, we took the wind so early from the southward, that I was not without anxiety lest we might fall to leeward of Cape St. Roque; nor were these apprehensions unfounded, as, on the 17th of August, we saw the rocky Island of St. Paul's, which is nearly on the equator, bearing far to the eastward of us; and on the 19th were but just able to weather the rugged Island of Fernando Noronha. Having passed this island, and continued our course on a wind to the southwest, we had the Brazilian coast in sight on the

21st, and plying to windward, were, on the morning of the 23d, close in with the town of Pernambuco, which makes a very pretty appearance from the sea.

As there was no blockading squadron here, we presumed that the rebellion had been quelled; and this suspicion was soon confirmed by information from a vessel, which we spoke immediately from thence, that the Royalists had, some days since, gained the ascendancy, and had caused the principal conspirators to be put to death.

Having next day passed the latitude of Cape St. Augustine, we observed that, as we advanced to the southward, the wind became more easterly, and finally enabled us to spread all our light sails to a favorable breeze. As we approached the latitude of the Rio de la Plata, we spoke an English brig, bound thither from Rio Janeiro, on board of which we put letters for home. As there existed some chance of obtaining information that might be useful, of the relative situation of parties in Chili, by touching at Maldonado, I determined on so doing, if not attended with too great loss of time; but when, on the 8th of September, we were in sight of St. Mary[illegible], in thirteen fathoms water, the weather was so thick and rainy, that, after lying-to several hours, with no indication of its clearing away, I concluded to abandon the attempt, and with a favorable wind made all sail to the southward.

To avoid being entirely dependent on the authorities of the Chilian ports, that we might enter, for the replenishment of our water and wood, I was desirous of stopping at the Falkland Islands; and for this purpose, steered a course that would carry me to the westward of them, as long as the wind permitted. This, however, was not long, for before we arrived near their parallel, repeated and violent gales from the southwest carried us far to the eastward of them. Satisfied that the time required to reach them would be unprofitably spent, and our necessities not being urgent, I gave up this plan, and proceeded toward Cape Horn.

After experiencing the variety of winds and weather which are peculiar to a high latitude, we were favored on the 25th of September with a fine breeze from the eastward, before which we made rapid advances toward the Cape. The breeze continuing the following day, had carried us on so far as to leave no doubt of being up with the Cape before morning. Having by a good observation, at noon, ascertained that our latitude was about ten miles south of the Cape, a course was steered to preserve that parallel; and, with the advantage of a moonlight night, we pressed forward, keeping a sharp look-out for the land. This was descried at 2 A. M. in a direction which led me to suppose it to be the Cape; but continuing our course to the westward, two hours, another point of land was discovered, which satisfied me of my mistake. I therefore immediately shortened sail so as to admit the ship's being hauled on a wind, if it should become necessary. Soon after seeing the second point, land was descried to the southward, making it evident that we had been swept to the northward by a current, and were actually embayed. Immediately on this discovery, the ship was laid to, while we anxiously waited for daylight, which was near at hand.

When the light enabled us to distinguish objects clearly, we found that if our position was not actually hazardous, our safety was due rather to accident than prudence. Barnevelt's Island was to the southward of us, three or four miles, but we could not weather it. Steering through a passage which opened to us between that Island and Cape Deceit, with a fine breeze from north-northeast, we passed within three miles of Cape Horn, at nine o'clock in the morning, and at noon were six or eight leagues to the westward of it. Thus, with a smooth sea, a breeze to which all our light sails were spread, and with ease and celerity, we passed this formidable and proverbially terrific Cape; the natural barrier and pledge, for ages past, for the security of the Spanish possessions on the Chilian and Peruvian coasts.

The next day we spoke the ship Packet of Boston, Captain Hill, bound to the coast of Chili; and the following night we had a gale of wind from the northwest which brought us under reefed courses. The prevalence of northwest gales prevented our reaching the Island of Mocha till the 15th of October. In the hope of obtaining some useful information of the political situation of Chili, we lay off and on several hours, while the boat was despatched for that purpose; but it returned after reconnoitring the southern and eastern parts of the island, without discovering any traces of inhabitants, or any other animal than the wild horse.

A supply of water and wood being now necessary, I determined to enter the port of Talcahuana, presuming that, whether in possession of Royalists or Patriots, our wants were manifest; and that our right to enter their ports for a supply, was guaranteed by treaty. Under these impressions, and a belief that I had nothing to apprehend from either party, while I conformed to the laws and regulations of the ruling powers, I directed a course for that port; and the next morning we were abreast of the Island of St. Mary's. Having but a light breeze, it was late in the afternoon before we had a view of the port into which an American ship was entering, and which proved to be the Essex of Nantucket, Captain Russell.

A light air from the southward enabled us to pass the Island of Quiriquina, which forms the southern entrance to the port; and soon after, it became perfectly calm. While thus becalmed, we were boarded by an officer, who had just before boarded the Essex, and who stated that the port was in possession of the Patriots; that he was a Patriot officer; that the Royal flag was kept flying on the ships then in full view, as a decoy; that the brig Canton was in port, and would be ready to sail for Salem in two or three days, &c. &c., all which was false, excepting that the brig Canton was in port.

As the calm continued, we were obliged to let go an anchor, and soon after were boarded by an officer of apparently superior grade to the first. He wore an undress Royal uniform, and demanded the ship's papers. Having examined these, and remarked a deficiency of the sea letter, he was about taking them away, to which I would not consent, and after some altercation on the subject, he left the ship. My suspicions were now awakened as to the facts stated by the first officer who boarded us; although corroborated by the second, if untrue, their object must fairly be presumed to be mischievous.

Thus situated, and with such apprehensions, it was evident that no time was to be lost in deciding whether it was most judicious to attempt a retreat and seek some other port, or to enter this, trusting to our right by treaty. In adopting the first measure, it was to be considered, that though we might succeed in beating off the launches, the only mode of annoyance they could use while the calm continued, yet this must be with the loss of lives, and with a chance of failure. If however, we should succeed in keeping them at bay until a breeze sprung up, which would enable us to go out, the same would aid the ships of war to pursue us; and we could no more rationally expect to outsail a frigate, than we could successfully resist her. A failure in either of these attempts might be urged as a justifiable cause of condemnation. It was no less obvious, that, if these ships were a part of the Royal navy, the Royalists must possess the ascendancy at sea; in which case, it was probable that the port of Valparaiso would be blockaded; and to be taken attempting to enter there, after having forced my way from here, and with a Royal officer on board to detail the circumstances, could not fail to be attended with disastrous consequences.

On the other hand, however vexatious and annoying the conduct of the government towards us might be, from the resentment they would feel, on suspicion of our intention to traffic with those they termed rebels, such suspicion ought not to endanger the property under any circumstances; and more especially when there existed the most undeniable evidence of such necessity as had been provided for by treaty. With these impressions, and in the worst event, that of the Royalists being in possession of the place, the least of the two evils seemed to be that of placing myself in their power, and manifesting no apprehension for the result; in accordance with this conviction, I made no resistance to the admittance of the armed men on board, who were sent to take charge of us. These, however, were alleged by the officer to be put on board for our safety, to guard us against the enemy who possessed the neighbouring shore, from which we were distant about one mile.

Having a breeze early the next morning, we weighed anchor, and after making two or three tacks, under the direction of the pilot, anchored again in front of the town, between the Veloz and Sebastiana, men-of-war. Here a guard from the shore relieved those who first came on board; and here we were all confined to the ship, and prohibited any communication with the shore, or with our countrymen of the brig Canton, which lay near us.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sails Unbent. — Interchange of Letters with the Governor. — Unfortunate Selection of a Port. — Situation of the Royal and Patriot Forces. — Visit from the Authorities. — Sketch of them. — Their Object and Determination. — Hopeless Case. — Some Resources.

IN the afternoon our sails were unbent, an unsuccessful attempt was made to unhang the rudder, and all (excepting two) of the seamen taken away and put on board other ships. During the afternoon and the following day, several letters were interchanged between the military Governor and myself, all of which showed that it was his intention to appropriate the ship and cargo to the use of government.

It was now evident, that we could not have selected a port on the coast where so much suspicion of sinister intentions would be excited; where the rulers would be more hostile to us; or where, from the entire exhaustion of the military chest, there could exist so good an apology for acting on the principle, that "necessity knows no law." Hence it was apparent, that if ever the property should be released, it probably would not be till after such a protracted period of litigation in a Spanish tribunal, as would wear out my patience, if not my life.

We now ascertained, that the city of Conception and all the eastern side of the bay were in possession of the Patriots, who, with a strong force were besieging

Talcahuana, and daily throwing shells into the town; while the Royal forces, confined within their lines to the peninsula, were kept on the *qui vive*, by the frequent demonstrations of an attack.

On the following day, we were visited by all the important functionaries of the government, including the military Governor, a sketch of whom, which a compulsory acquaintance afterwards enabled me to take, may be properly introduced at this time. The supreme chief, or Governor Intendante of the Province of Conception, was José Ordoñes, a European, but whether a descendant of the one of that name, of whom honorable mention is made in the history of the renowned Knight of La Mancha, I could not learn. He held the rank of Colonel in the Royal army, had seen much service in the late war, and, from having been a prisoner in France, had derived the double advantage of attaining some knowledge of the French language, and of acquiring the happy mode of appropriating the property of others to their own particular use, which so distinguished that nation at the time of his captivity. His manners were those of a gentleman; and his character a counterpart to that which Tacitus has drawn of Tiberius. His stature was rather below middling. His physiognomy dark and forbidding. His eyelids hung half over the balls of his eyes, after the manner in which a toper is usually drawn, and were so remarkable, that, had he lived in those times of yore, when the peculiar properties of a man gave him a name, as "long shanks," "bald head," &c. he would perhaps have obtained the soubriquet of "lopped-eyed."

The character next in importance, among my guests, was the Fiscal of the Royal Hacienda, or chief of the civil department, Don Santiago Ascacibar Murube, a native of Old Spain, and a hater of all foreigners. He derived his station and consequence, not less from the scarcity of men possessing the requisite talents for the office, than from the efforts of influential friends, a prepossessing figure, and a degree of assurance bordering on impudence, which gave him a currency with some of the most respectable families of Lima. He was proverbially unprincipled in a community where morality is but little esteemed. After his return to Lima, and in conformity with the usual practice of such sinners, he voluntarily banished himself from society during a fortnight, entered a convent, and submitted to the penance, required by its rules, for that period; then came out cleansed from his sins, and prepared to begin a new score.

The third grand prop of the State, in this company, was the Assessor, or great law officer, the man who interrogated us, and, by the successful issue of this labor, showed to his astonished countrymen, that he could detect guilt where none existed. Juan José Eguilus, the submissive tool of the two preceding rogues, was a half-starved, lank, pale, doleful looking fellow; from whom, however, Cæsar would have had no apprehensions of the subversion of the government, as he was entirely destitute of any one of the qualifications requisite, except an entire want of principle. His appointment to the office of Assessor must have been the effect of blind partiality, or of that chance which offered no selection, or, probably, of the presumption, that, in so obscure a place as Talcahuana, no official duties would be required of him.

The last, though not the least influential character, among my visitors, was the Commissary of the army, Don Mattias de la Fuente, the Abbé Sieyes of Talcahuana. Though a native of this country, the King had no subject more devotedly attached to his government, no one who was a more bitter enemy to the Patriot cause. With the manners and urbanity of a gentleman, he combined the duplicity and cunning of a Spanish courtier. He took no other responsibility in the measures pursued against us, than to represent to the government, that there was no money in the Royal chest, that he was destitute of the means of paying the army, whose arrears were so great, and whose necessities were so urgent, that symptoms of discontent among them were daily manifested, and that there was no other resource for the alleviation of that evil, than to appropriate the cargo of the Beaver. With characteristic duplicity, while he was daily making professions of friendship, and encouraging a hope of the release of the property, he was laboring for its confiscation, and was earnestly engaged in producing that ruin which he affected to lament. Such were the men, in whose power it was now my cruel destiny to be placed. On their fiat hung the fate of the valuable ship Beaver and cargo; and with them my own fortune and future prospects.

Although the ostensible object of this visit was to see if our necessities were as urgent as reported, it was very evident, that, in reality, it was to search for some grounds to prove that they were feigned, in order to justify the high-handed measures, upon which they had, evidently, already determined. Among other proofs equally frivolous, they tasted the bilgewater from the pumps, and declared it to be sweet. This falsehood was contrived to substantiate another, namely, that the water in the hold being palatable, was evidence of our supply having been purposely started to make a show of necessity. If there had been any doubts, relative to our fate before this visit, none could exist afterwards; as the Fiscal had already been so incautious as to prejudge the cause, by declaring the ship and cargo to be good prize.

It would be in vain to attempt conveying an idea of my distress, now that I realized the scene of trouble which awaited me. I saw at once my fair prospects blasted; the flattering hopes of meeting my family, with a competency, at no very distant period, annihilated; the satisfaction of an approving welcome from my employer, without a chance of being realized. Besides this, I was conscious that these calamities, which were only a prelude to others, were produced by the mere accident of falling into the hands of those who possessed but barely sufficient power to enforce their views, while their inhumanity would not hesitate to take my life, if necessary for the furtherance of their object. I knew, too, that they were ignorant, even of the existence of any treaty, by which my rights were secured; and entirely reckless of consequences. All these conspired to plunge me into an abyss of misery; to present a prospect so gloomy, so oppressive, so fraught with woe, that the situation of one conscious that his life was limited to the next setting sun, appeared enviable to me.

Such prostration of spirit, however, was of but momentary duration. This was neither the first, nor second time, that my prospects in life had been involved in equal darkness; and had been succeeded by days of sunshine; and though I could not now perceive any chance of extricating myself, I felt such confidence that a way would be opened, that I soon recovered that elasticity of spirits which is necessary to insure success, in any enterprise.

Revolving, in my mind, the various modes which might possibly occur for the recovery of this property, the first, and a very probable one, was the arrival of the Ontario, which, from the notice in the papers, of the time of her sailing from the United States, might be daily expected; and her presence would have had an immediate tendency to cause its release. The second, was the known increase of the Patriot force, and the hope that they might become masters of the place before the condemnation of the ship. The third, was the hope and expectation, that the Viceroy, aware of the incompetency of the authorities at Talcahuana to judge in maritime cases, no less than of their want of moral principle, would order the ship to Lima.

These were the means which presented to me some chance of escape from the immediate thraldom under which I was writhing. A more remote prospect, was that of the interference of the Government of the United States. I did not doubt that a demand would be made for this property, which, under existing circumstances, must be complied with; though probably at so remote a period, as to make it of little benefit to me. These modes of relief, however, being foreign to myself, were not agreeable to me, nor did my forlorn situation ever reconcile me to the idea of being indebted to foreign aid, to extricate me from my embarrassments.

CHAPTER IX.

Examination by the Assessor.—Liberty to go on Shore.—Escape to the Enemy of the Beaver's Men.—Indignation of the Populace.—Annoyance of Sentries.—Arrival of the Vengeance.—Put the Guard to Sleep.—Answer the Watchword.—Plan of taking the Frigate.—Consequences.—Sounding the Men.—Day appointed.—Disappointment.

The irksomeness of being confined to the limits of the ship, after a passage of one hundred and ten days, was very great; and the misfortune of arriving at a besieged place, where neither fresh provisions nor vegetables were to be obtained, though circumstances in themselves trifling, when compared with the loss of the property, were, nevertheless, so provoking, as to produce an impatience and irritability, while under examination, which was occasionally manifested in such disrespectful, and even insulting replies, as often to break off the proceedings; and sometimes to provoke a threat of imprisonment. The questions were put by the Assessor, through the medium of a sailor, as interpreter, who understood either language so imperfectly, that I had frequent occasion to correct him. This tedious, and often ludicrous business was continued with me, about ten days; after which, the two mates, boatswain, and two seamen, were, by turns, subjected to a like tedious examination.

Nearly a month had been spent in this way, and we had not been permitted to go on shore, or to have any communication with the Canton's men. At length, the examination being finished, orders were given that we should be permitted to go on shore for exercise, and recreation; but, at a distance from the town, and always guarded by a soldier. We had been in the enjoyment of this indulgence but a few days, when, on the 15th of November, the boatswain, carpenter, clerk, and three boys, being ashore in the jolly-boat, eluded the vigilance of the soldier sent to guard them, escaped in the boat, and were half way across the bay toward the enemy, before the alarm was given. As soon as it was known on board the men-of-war, all their light boats were sent in pursuit; and although they approached so as to be finally within musket-shot, and kept firing, yet no one was injured, and they reached the shore in safety. Their efforts had been watched by the Patriots, and upon their landing a party of cavalry appeared to receive and protect them. The ship's boat was recovered and brought back by the pursuers.

This was an event, which, as might be expected, set the whole populace and garrison in commotion. There were no epithets too bad for us; the belief was current, that we had an understanding and communication with the Patriots; and consequently that there ought to be no hesitation in confiscating the ship and cargo and putting us in prison. It was fortunate for me, that at the time the alarm was given, I was with the Governor, who, for a moment, suspected me of being privy to it; but, after a little reflection, and my assurance of innocence, he acknowledged having done me injustice. Nevertheless, the guard on board had orders to be more vigilant; additional sentries were placed between decks, who, by passing the word from one to another, and thence to the sentries on deck, kept up such a continued bawling all night, as made it impossible to sleep.

The spanker and foretopmast staysail, which had been kept bent to facilitate in keeping a clear hawse, were now unbent and taken away. A search was made for arms, and every musket, pistol, sabre, and boarding-pike they could find removed. This excessive caution and annoyance lasted only two or three days, when it gradually ceased, and we had even more liberty than before the occurrence. Not doubting that our arms would be taken away, we had used the precaution to secrete as many pistols, and sabres, and as much powder and ball, as it was possible occasion might demand, and these remained undiscovered.

On the 20th of November, the Royal naval force was augmented by the arrival, from Lima, of the frigate Venganza, of forty-four guns, and the brigs of war Pezuela and Potrillo. More than a month had elapsed since our arrival; and so little had been done toward a decision in our case, that we had abundant evidence, that the proverbially sluggish manner of doing business, so peculiar to the Spanish people, was, in no degree, to be deviated from, in the present instance. Their progress had been at such a snail-like pace, that unless affected by some political change, months, if not years, must pass away before I could rationally expect to be provided with those documents which were requisite for my own justification to owners and underwriters; no less than to enable them to substantiate their claim against the Spanish government.

The prospect of dragging on, for an indefinite period, the wretched existence which I had endured since arriving at this port, was insupportable. Mortified at the humiliating position in which I was placed, goaded by the long train of evils which would inevitably result to me from the loss of this property, and driven to desperation by my inability to perceive any prospect of a termination to such misery, I viewed destruction in an effort to free myself, as an evil of less magnitude; and therefore determined, if I could induce my men to join me, to put in execution a plan which I had long meditated; and which, like all revolutionary movements, would be deemed praiseworthy or lawless, as the result should prove successful or otherwise.

While lying between the Spanish vessels of war where our ship was first anchored, I had a good opportunity of noticing the absence of proper and ordinary discipline. During more than a month, I paced the Beaver's deck every night, often until the middle watch had nearly worn away; and observed, that more than half the time the sentries were so deficient in vigilance, as to be hailed several times before answering. Perceiving the advantage that might result, if I could substitute my answer for that of the sentry on board our ship, I often took the trumpet, and found my "*alerto*" to be as current as that of the Spanish sentry. I noticed, also, that a great number of men were sent away in the launches every night, to guard some weak points, at the eastern extremity of the town. With a view of ascertaining the feasibility of rendering nugatory our guard of twenty soldiers, I tried the experiment of giving them a can of grog mixed with a little laudanum, which put them all into so profound a sleep for several hours, as to give us entire control of the ship; a circumstance which was concealed from their superiors by my "*alerto*" passing for that of the proper sentry.

With these preliminary experiences, and my general knowledge of the slovenly manner in which the duties of officers and men were performed on board Spanish ships of war, [illegible] appeared to me, that if a favorable opportunity presented, and my men were resolute, we might take the commodore's ship by a *coup de main*. It must be obvious, that the carrying out successfully the plan I had formed, must depend on obtaining possession of the fastest sailing ship. This I had ascertained to be the Venganza. Once in possession of this ship, it would not require more than two or three hours before we should have brought her to anchor in the bay of St. Vincent's, which is only about two miles to windward of Talcahuana. About one mile east of this bay were encamped the Patriot (or besieging) army, the commander of which could not fail to perceive the advantage which fortune would have thus thrown in his way, and would lose no time in furnishing the number of men requisite for the performance of the various duties on board. These could be embarked, and a return to Talcahuana effected in twelve hours from the time of having left there, if necessary; but it is probable a few additional hours might have been required to adjust the mode of proceeding. A vigorous and simultaneous attack, by this frigate on one side, and by the Patriot army on the other, would cause the surrender of the town and shipping in a very short time.

I should then have gained possession of the Beaver, with the principal part of her cargo yet on board. But this constituted only a small part of my plan. The main object was then to revolutionize the kingdom of

Peru; and to effect this purpose, the way appeared to be clear, and not very difficult, if I could induce the Chilian General to furnish me with the requisite number of men; which, as they were no longer wanted at Talcahuana, it was presumable he would readily do. With the Venganza thus manned, and before the possibility of any account of these transactions reaching the blockading squadron off Valparaiso, I would proceed thither with Spanish colors flying, sheer alongside the Commodore's ship, the Esmeralda, before those on board had any suspicion of danger, and take her, probably, without losing a man. The brigs of war composing a part of the blockading force would then surrender without resistance.

When I had thus been the means of placing in the power of the Chilian government the whole naval force of Peru, my personal services would be no longer necessary. The immense advantage to be derived from it could not fail to be perceived and acknowledged by them. The means of revolutionizing Peru would be now in their power; and, if promptly and judiciously used, could hardly fail of success. To prevent the possibility of escape of any intelligence to the Peruvians, and while the fleet was preparing for invasion, an embargo would be indispensable. As it would be obvious to the Chilian government, that their chance of success would greatly depend on despatch, it is presumable that more than ordinary efforts would be made for the attainment of this object. Entering the bay of Callao with Spanish colors flying, the people of the town would immediately recognise their own ships; and as they had had, for a long time, the ascendancy on the ocean, would have no suspicion of their being in possession of the enemy. They would, therefore, be taken completely by surprise; before recovering from which, the Chilians would have become masters of the fortress, of the town, and of the shipping.

Thus, amid the pressure of misfortune, were my spirits buoyed up with the prospect of a change in my affairs; possibly a brilliant one, conducting to fame, to fortune, to the chastisement of my persecutors, and, more gratifying than all, to the restoration of their property to my employers, with abundant advantage.

The desperate measure, the execution of which now occupied my sleeping, as well as waking hours, in which the lives of myself and associates, as well as those of innocent Spanish seamen, would be jeopardized or sacrificed, I was aware would be viewed by some as high-handed, lawless, and piratical; by others, as a just retaliation for the injuries I had suffered; and, by a greater number, as favoring the efforts of an oppressed people, for the overthrow of a despotic government, and the establishment of a liberal one in its stead, highly commendable.

But to perceive, or feel the full force of the motives by which I was actuated, it is proper to refer to some scenes in my narrative, already detailed,—such as, the fruit of many years of my hard earnings being swept off, and myself and family reduced to poverty, by the robbery of Admiral Cochrane, sanctioned by a wicked judge of Vice-Admiralty, without a justifiable cause, and in violation of the laws of nations; next, the treacherous, mean, and cowardly manner, in which, by order of Napoleon, my vessel and cargo was stolen from me by Murat; and now, without having violated any law, or deviated in any degree from the tenor of the existing treaty, — being again stripped of my property, reduced to penury, and goaded with the prospect of the long train of evils which were inevitable. Let such repeated and deeply distressing wrongs be brought home to the breast of any one; and if they be not considered sufficient to justify the measure on which I had determined, they will do much towards extenuating it.

Immediately after the augmentation of the naval force, mentioned to have taken place on the 20th of November, such security was felt by the authorities of Talcuhuana, as induced them to return to the Beaver her ship's company, who, excepting those who had escaped to the Patriots, had been kept as prisoners from the time of our arrival. This was a measure I had anticipated; and but for which the plan must have been abandoned, as I had no access to them when away from the ship.

In a few days after the arrival of the Venganza, the small vessels of war put to sea, leaving in port, besides that ship, only the Sebastiana, a heavy sailing vessel. The activity and enterprise of the besiegers was such as to make a requisition of all the men they could spare from the ships of war, to guard, during the nights, the vulnerable points east of the town. On this duty, and on that required elsewhere, so many men were necessary, that the Venganza was often left with short of a hundred on board; and the crew of the other ship was weakened proportionally. The time, therefore, had now arrived to mature the plan, and to put it in execution with the least delay possible.

The great delicacy and caution requisite to be observed in sounding the men, and in ascertaining if they would engage heartily in the contemplated enterprise, must be obvious to all, who are capable of appreciating the danger of trusting to sailors, a secret involving such consequences as a discovery would create. It would have been manifestly imprudent to open the plan to the crew generally, much before the time when it was to be put in execution, for, though I had no doubt of their fidelity, yet, as some of them would get drunk when they had an opportunity, the secret might escape them while in that state.

Choosing a proper time, when least likely to attract the attention of the guard on board, I invited two of the most trustworthy of my men into the cabin; when carefully shutting the door, and looking all round to be sure that nobody could hear us, I began by expressing my satisfaction with their conduct since leaving New York, and my regret at the misfortune we were now suffering, to which I could perceive no prospect of an end. I then observed, that as it was always an object with me to promote, as much as was in my power, the happiness and comfort of the men under my command, I trusted they were satisfied with the treatment they had received from me thus far; to which they readily assented. Their curiosity seemed now to be alive to know what was coming next; perceiving which, I assured them of my conviction that the ship and cargo would be condemned; of which they also said they had no doubt. I spoke to them of the outrage of this act, performed by ignorant blockheads in defiance of a solemn treaty made with their King; stated to them, that though restitution would be made, it would be so long first, as to be little beneficial to us; that we had no other prospect before us than being left in a strange land, without the means of support; that tamely to submit to such cruelty, while any means of redress was within our reach, would be disgraceful; that any measures, however violent, for extricating ourselves, were not only justifiable but meritorious, and that, by a well-timed and bold effort, we could obtain for ourselves liberty, fortune, and the chastisement of our enemies. They declared, that nothing would please them better than to engage in any plan by which they could get clear of these dirty Spaniards, and give them a good whipping, in which, they said, they knew every man of the Beaver would heartily join.

I then stated to them my conviction of the practicability of our making ourselves masters of the Venganza, and the long train of brilliant consequences that would result from it, as already detailed. They started at this, and seemed to be disappointed in not having proposed to them a plan of less difficult accomplishment. One of them said it was too hazardous, the odds were too great against us; the other was of the same opinion. I agreed with them that they were right, on the supposition of an open attack; but that, taking them by surprise, we should obtain possession of the ship before being opposed by an equal number to our own, as had been the case in numerous instances, of vessels taken by surprise, where the disparity in the relative force was equally great. Among other instances within my knowledge, I mentioned to them that of Captain Surcouffe, who, with only eight men, took an English Indiaman, with more than one hundred men on board, in Balasore Roads, and brought her safe to the Isle of France. The relation of this fact seemed to give them renewed spirit, and to lessen their belief in their first impression of the extent of the danger; as, after a few minutes' silence, the eldest said, he should be willing to engage in any plan where I would take the lead, looking at the same time at his shipmate, as if expecting him to be influenced by his decision, which was the case.

On parting, I desired them, when a good occasion presented, to sound their shipmates as to their willingness to engage in some such plan, without stating particulars; and without referring to me; and to be sure to avoid giving any cause of suspicion to the Spaniards; never allowing themselves even to hint at the subject in their presence, as some of them were possessed of a few words of English; and when conversing on the subject, to be certain it should be where they would not be overheard or suspected. The propriety of such caution was obvious to these two men, and they promised to observe it in making their communication to their shipmates, and to enjoin it especially on them. In this delicate mission, they conducted with all due circumspection; and the result was as I had anticipated it would be. Their treatment by the Spaniards had greatly exasperated them; which, with the loss of their actual earnings, as well as those in prospect, all combined to render them as ready and earnest to emancipate themselves, by a desperate effort, as I was myself. It remained therefore, now, only to make the proper arrangements, and to determine on the time when the blow should be struck.

A circumstance now occurred which was considered to be suspicious. The two mates of the brig Canton had, within a few days, been ordered to take up their residence on board the frigate. They had heard some indistinct rumor of what was going on; and it was very important to enlist them in it. With this view, I made a visit to the Commodore, with whom I was on familiar terms. After conversing with him some little time, I took leave, and found my two countrymen waiting for me on the quarter-deck. There were, besides ourselves, only the two sentries present, neither of whom understood a word of English; the opportunity, therefore, for a free communication, and interchange of opinion, could not have been better. While walking the deck I opened to them the plan; having in previous conversations had abundant evidence that I might safely confide in them. As I had anticipated, they admitted its feasibility, if the men could be depended on, and readily agreed to participate in its execution. On parting I recommended to them to be vigilant in making such observations relative to the discipline of the ship, the times in the day or night when most weakened by absences of men, the place of deposit of small arms, and, generally, of every thing which should tend to the successful accomplishment of the object in view.

Although I had no apprehension of any one of our number proving recreant, yet is it obvious that there is danger in trusting a secret to so many individuals; and where life is involved, immediate action, if possible, is the best and safest policy. It had been observed, that on Sundays, in addition to the men required for the defences, others were allowed to go on shore for amusement; and that, in the afternoon of Sundays, most of the officers were seeking recreation away from their ships. Sunday afternoon then, it was agreed, was the proper time when the attack could be made with the chance of least resistance, and with a fair prospect of success. It was now Thursday, and the Sunday next ensuing was determined on as the day, — the great, the important day,—in which we were to expect liberty or death. The intervening two days were passed in great anxiety, lest some suspicion, or careless conversation should avert the meditated blow; and I now fully experienced that,

> "Between the acting of a dreadful thing
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma, or hideous dream:
> The genius and the mortal instruments
> Are then in counsel; and the state of man,
> Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
> The nature of an insurrection."

On Friday I was occupied most of the day in writing letters to my family and to Mr. Astor; and on Saturday afternoon, we all met at a secluded place, agreed on, at the outskirts of the town. This could be done in the afternoons with as little chance of seeing anybody, or of exciting suspicion, as at midnight, for all were taking their accustomed siesta. I had the satisfaction of finding no wavering among them; but, on the contrary, all seemed to be resolute and anxious for the arrival of the decisive hour. We numbered fifteen, exclusive of the two on board the frigate. After settling a number of preliminary steps, such as designating the number, and persons for each boat, the manner in which their arms were to be best concealed, the kind of arms to be taken, &c., I addressed them, by saying, that I presumed they were all aware of the hazardous undertaking in which they were about being engaged; that, once embarked in it, there was no retreat; that victory or death was the only alternative; that any flinching in the moment of attack, by any one, might be the ruin of us all; and that it was my desire, if any one among them felt his courage flagging, or unequal to facing the danger, that he would now manifest it, as one irresolute man might be the cause of the destruction of all of us. None such appearing among them, but all being resolute, we returned to the ship in different squads, of three or four each, the better to elude any chance of observation.

During the succeeding night my sleep was uneasy and feverish, and I arose in the morning without being much refreshed by it. The sun rose in all the beauty and brilliancy which is so peculiar to this climate at this season of the year, than which nothing of the kind can be imagined more charming, or less in harmony with the deeds I was contemplating. At ten o'clock the customary south wind had not yet begun to blow. I made an early visit to the frigate, ostensibly to the Commodore, but really to see the men of the Canton, and to make my final arrangements with them. For this purpose, after finishing my visit, with a promise to return in the afternoon with a book he wished to borrow, I walked the frigate's deck an hour with the mates, and had as fine an opportunity as could be desired, of making all the observations which were important, and which were sufficient to convince me, that if our men were resolute there was no doubt of a favorable result.

Lest so many men should excite suspicion, by going alongside the ship at the same time, it was agreed that the Canton's boat, with half the number of men, should be sailing about near the frigate, and that, when they saw the Beaver's boat, with the other half, go to the starboard side of the ship, they should go alongside on the larboard; while the Canton's men should be engaged in drawing off the attention of the sentries, or, failing in this, to snatch from them their arms. The boats' crews mounting simultaneously on opposite sides of the ship, would instantly clear the deck of the Spaniards; while at the same moment, those designated to cast loose the fore-topsail, and to cut [illegible] cable, would perform those duties, and, with the accustomed strong breeze blowing directly out of the bay, we should be well under way, before the alarm would be given on board the Sebastiana. Such was the general plan, which of course must have been varied as contingencies might require.

It was past 11 o'clock when I left the frigate and returned to the Beaver; and the calm continued. This was very unusual. With an intensity of anxiety which may be more easily conceived than described, I watched the occasional slow passing clouds, and the light zephyrs, which are termed by sailors, cat's-paws, until the sun had passed the meridian, and the prospect of a breeze was not more encouraging. But it might come suddenly before dark, which would be in time for us; we therefore administered the soporific to the soldiers on board, which soon had the desired effect, and during the afternoon there existed no obstacle to our arming ourselves, and to making every requisite preparation at our leisure. But the customary wind came not, and it must be viewed as a remarkable fact, that at a place where, at this season of the year, a strong south wind blows, on the average, nineteen days out of twenty, we should have this day only light airs from the northward, and calms. Thus were we compelled, by a cause over which we had no control, to defer the execution of our project for another week, to our great disappointment.

CHAPTER X.

Attack of Fever. — Assault on the Town. — Repulse. — Condemnation of the Ship and Cargo. — Appeal. — Patriots set Fire to and abandon Conception. — Arrival of Osorio, with Four Thousand Men. — Pursue the Patriots. — Battle of Talca. — Desperate State of the Patriot Cause. — Battle of Maipo. — Ruin of the Royal Army. — Return of Osorio. — Distress of the People. — Ships ordered to be ready. — Removed from the Beaver.

FAILING, as has been seen, in this first attempt, I had a presentiment that [illegible] a coincidence of favorable circumstances would not again occur. I had been two days with the consciousness of approaching fever, which I endeavoured to avert by cold bathing; but unsuccessfully. On the day succeeding that of the intended attack, the fever raged in a degree that produced delirium; and it was not till nearly the expiration of a week that I awoke to the consciousness of my situation, to the discovery that I was very ill; that I was in my bed, with two watchers, and that my legs were very sore from the effect of blisters. These, as well as the requisite medicines, were prescribed by the surgeon of the Sebastiana, Dr. Rosseau, who had been assiduously attentive and kind, from the first, and to whom, in my ravings, I had applied volleys of opprobrious epithets.

I now perceived, that, in the course of a few days, I had been reduced from the utmost vigor of health, to such extreme weakness, as would require much time and care to restore me. During this period, I learned that the besiegers had made an assault upon, and had gained an entry into the town, on the 5th of December, and that after several hours of hard fighting, they had been repulsed, with the loss of three hundred men. Thus was this source of relief annihilated.

While I was in so feeble a state as not to be able to sit up in my bed, an officer was sent to me with all the papers relating to the process for my examination, and a message that they would be left with me ten days; in which time it was expected I should make my defence, or appoint some one to do it for me. Indignant at such insulting cruelty, I desired the officer to take himself and papers out of my presence, and not to appear again until I had sufficient strength to express [illegible] him, and those that sent him, my opinion of such barbarity. He made no reply, and went away, taking the papers with him.

All my long cherished hopes of extricating myself, by a *coup de main*, were now gone. The two mates of the Canton had gone to Lima. The Beaver's men had already taken themselves off in various directions. The discomfiture of the Patriots had obviated the necessity of weakening the ships for the defence of the town, and the prospect before me was no other than a long course of litigation in a Spanish tribunal, with exhausted energies, and with no chance of a successful result.

The first, and most important object was now to regain my strength; and this was to be effected under every disadvantage and discouragement. The delicacies which are almost indispensable to convalescents, were not to be obtained at any price; even an egg was only occasionally and with difficulty to be procured, for the eighth of a dollar; and a chicken, or tender bird of any kind, was not to be had at any price. My appetite, however, as soon as I could walk a little, with assistance, became keen, and it was apparent that I was gaining strength, under the scanty and wretched fare, which was procurable.

While in this feeble state, official notice was sent me of the condemnation of the vessel and cargo. This event I had so long expected, that the information did not affect me, as was intended; and while I was permitted the indulgence of my quiet and comfortable quarters on board the Beaver, and could employ myself in the contemplation of some mode of rescue, my mind regained its elasticity, and my strength was gradually increasing. As in duty bound, I appealed from the decision of this tribunal, from a persuasion that some of the vicissitudes of war, would yet afford me a chance for the recovery of the property, at a higher one; hence the fate of my own affairs depended so much on the decision of the contest in Chili, as to produce an interest in the movements of the contending forces, not inferior to that of those who were actually engaged.

It is most probable that the commander of the Patriot Army had information that ships, which were conveying a great augmentation of force to the Royal Army, had sailed from Lima; as on the 5th of January, 1818, they abandoned their position, set fire to the city of Conception, and retreated towards Santiago. The troops which had defended Talcahuana, took possession of the deserted and ruined city, where neither provisions, nor booty, nor aught but desolation was found.

A few days after this event, the fleet arrived from Lima, having on board four thousand troops, under the command of General Osorio, the son-in-law of the Viceroy of Peru. They were good-looking men, well-equipped, and one half the number were veterans, who had assisted in the expulsion of the French from Spain. The partisans of royalty were now greatly elated, and confidently predicted the subjugation and tranquil possession of the country, in a very limited time. The persons designed to fill the offices of the civil department of the government, came also, in the fleet, and among them was one, who possessed more liberality and intelligence than is usual with his countrymen. This man, Mr. Pereyra, was appointed to the office of first Oidor, or judge of the supreme tribunal of Santiago. With this gentleman I became intimately acquainted; and from frequent conversations with him on the subject of the seizure of the Beaver, as well as from indirect sources, I ascertained, that he condemned all the proceedings of the government of Talcahuana towards us. I was therefore encouraged in the belief, that whether the case was carried before the superior tribunal at Santiago, or that of Lima, the decree of condemnation would be reversed. But how many dreary months were to be worn away before arriving at this consummation, was not in the power of the best informed to determine.

After a few days spent in refreshing the troops, and making the requisite preparation for transporting the baggage, the Royal army began its march in pursuit of the Patriots. They made a fine appearance, as they moved forward with all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," and with a confidence inspired by a belief in the superiority of their own prowess and discipline, and the greatest contempt for that of their enemy. The

Governor Intendente of the province of Conception, and successful defender of Talcahuana, now advanced, for that defence, to the grade of Brigadier (Ordoñez), accompanied the army, as second in command; and from the very contemptuous manner in which I had frequently heard him speak of the Patriot forces, he could not expect to meet much opposition, or much of that toil, privation, and danger, which usually attend an invading army.

In their march to Talca, which is about half way to Santiago, they met with no interruption; but, soon after leaving this town, they came in sight of the enemy. There was some skirmishing between them on the 14th and 17th of March, and on the 18th, so considerable a body were engaged, and the Patriots so much outnumbered, and, by their resistance, so disappointed the hopes and expectations of the Royal commanders, as to convince them that a *coup de main*, or successful stratagem, presented the only chance for their own safety. Consequently, with a desperation justified by the danger of their position, they made a sudden and, to the enemy, unexpected attack in the night of the 19th, and with such complete success as to take all their baggage, twenty-nine brass field-pieces, and four or five thousand muskets; they killed and wounded between two and three thousand men, and dispersed the rest so entirely, that there remained no obstacle to prevent their proceeding directly to the capital. A victory so complete, so important, and attended with so trifling loss on the part of the victors, corresponded with the expectations of the Royal generals at the outset; and tended to confirm them in their contempt of their opponents.

The cause of independence in Chili now appeared to be desperate. There seemed to remain no chance of recovery from this tremendous blow; and to submit to the mercy of the conquerors appeared to be the humiliating and only alternative. But, fortunately for them, the infatuation and confidence of the Royal commanders was such, that, instead of pushing on to the capital, while all was dismay and confusion, with nothing to prevent them, in true Spanish character they remained inactive, six days, at Talca. This gave ample time to the discomfited Patriots to secure a retreat, to collect their scattered forces, and to combine, within a few miles of Santiago, an army, which still outnumbered that of the Royalists. So confident were the Royal partisans at this place, Talcahuana, of the immediate and complete subjugation of the country, founded on the official despatches of the commander-in-chief, that many of the inhabitants, expecting the surrender of Valparaiso to succeed that of Santiago immediately, were about embarking for the former place on their way to the latter. We now, for the first time, considered our situation more eligible than that of our countrymen at Valparaiso. With them there might be some (perhaps a feeble) plea for confiscation. With us there existed only the suspicion of such; and a Court of Appeal was about being established at Santiago, from which we had much to hope.

While these transactions were going on with the armies, the Commissioners at Talcahuana, appointed to unlade and dispose of the Beaver's cargo, were busily engaged in that duty. It appeared, however, that though the country, over which they had control, was entirely destitute of the manufactures which composed the Beaver's cargo, it was so poor as not to be able to pay for one half; and hence, with all their efforts, the Commissioners were unable to supply the necessities of the army; on which account, orders were received from head-quarters to sell the ship. This appeared to be giving the finishing blow to the business; as, after a sale, and in the event of a revocation of the decree, restoration would be out of the question. The only hope upon which I could now lean was, either that some decisive action should take place before the ship was sold, or that orders should arrive from the Viceroy of Peru for the ship to proceed to Callao; and this I had urged in a letter to the Viceroy, forwarded in January.

After the retreat of the Patriot army, there was no restriction to the direction or extent of our rambles on shore; and as they were conducive to health, scarce a day passed without my taking an excursion of several miles. In one of these solitary walks, while crossing a field of thick underbrush, between Talcahuana and Conception, I was startled by suddenly coming upon an object, whose whiteness formed a contrast with the surrounding shrubbery. On approaching, I perceived it to be the skeleton of a man and horse, who had, doubtless, met their fate on the day of assault, had been stripped of whatever was valuable, and been left unburied, a prey to carrion birds. The warrior lay by the side of his horse, each a perfect skeleton, the bones blanched clean by the sun.

It was now about the middle of April; and if there had been no interruption to the progress of the army, the news of their occupation of the capital ought to have reached Talcahuana. While all were in daily expectation of hearing cheering news of the submission of the rebels, or of their being driven beyond the Andes, and the consequent termination of the war, rumors were afloat, that the enemy had collected in such numbers, as to make the possession of Santiago dependent on another battle. The following day it was whispered, with an air of secrecy, that the Royal army had been defeated. This news was confirmed, the next morning, by the appearance of the commander-in-chief, Osorio, who, *à la Buonaparte*, had effected his escape, with ten or twelve followers; the only remains of the proud army, which left here a few weeks since. Ordoñez, and nearly all the officers of distinction, who were not slain, were made prisoners.*

This decisive action, which annihilated the prospects of the Royalists, and established the independence of Chili, took place at a village called Maipo, within a few leagues of the capital, on the 5th of April, 1818. As the General, in his flight, passed through the city of Conception without stopping, the inhabitants very naturally concluded, that the enemy was at hand; and the scene of confusion, terror, and dismay, which succeeded, beggars description. These truly unfortunate people, whose attachment to their King had induced them to abandon their homes on the advance of the Patriot forces, and who had returned to their dilapidated houses, on the retreat of the enemy, were again compelled to fly, carrying with them whatever they had yet remaining of any value. During the two succeeding days, the road, leading from Conception to Talcahuana, was lined with loaded cattle and carts; with men and women, old and young, each carrying as much of their furniture as they could.

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* General Ordoñez, and a number of other Royal officers captured at the battle of Maipo, were sent to Mendoza, on the east side of the Andes, and were afterwards all massacred for alleged conspiracy.

For such a sudden influx into Talcahuana, accommodation was difficult to be found; and many families, who had seen better days, were glad to occupy a shed, a stable, or any place that afforded only a partial shelter from the weather, which was now becoming very inclement. But even here they were not safe; as it was evident, that all the force, which could possibly be mustered, was not equal to defending one fourth of the extent of the lines. Consequently, if the enemy should appear suddenly, no other resource remained, but a retreat to the ships. Aware of this, the commander-in-chief had issued orders for every ship to be put in a state to proceed to sea, at a moment's notice; and, as a preliminary step, they set about embarking their most valuable effects.

The acting Captain of the port, Tavira, was appointed to the command of the Beaver, of which he gave me notice by letter, at the same time expressing a wish, that I would leave the ship immediately. I replied, that, to justify my leaving the ship, I must, in the first place, have an order to that effect, signed by the commander-in-chief; and, in the next, that suitable apartments and food must be provided for myself and servant; and that, when these reasonable conditions were complied with, I would obey the order, and not till then. The difficulty, at this time, of procuring a room on shore, was very great; and, although he made great efforts, he was unable to obtain one. He therefore, the next day, brought me the order, signed by the General, declaring that he could find no accommodation for me on shore, unless an arrangement could be made with Mr. Coffin to share his room. This I declined; at which he became very impatient; and, after the interchange of a great many angry words, and a threat of compulsion, he left the ship in a passion.

In a few hours afterwards he returned, with a smiling countenance, and told me, he had found excellent quarters for me on board the Aguila, a large Lima merchant ship, and that I was to live at the Captain's table. These I found to be more commodious, though less neat, than those of the Beaver; and, acceding to the arrangement, I went on board with bag and baggage, accompanied by the steward, who was the only one remaining of the ship's company.

I now flattered myself, that my affairs had approached a crisis, that would soon put an end to the painful suspense and uncertainty, which I had been so long suffering, by my early departure from this dreary place for Lima. But this illusion was quickly destroyed. As soon as the panic of the Royalists had subsided, it was determined, in council, not to evacuate the place, unless compelled, until they should receive the Viceroy's instructions.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of the Esmeralda.—Her Escape from Capture.—A Ship from Lima.—An Order from the Viceroy for us to be sent there.—Brig Canton prepared.—Sailed on the 12th of May.—Arrival at Callao.—Interview with the Viceroy of Peru.—Result.—Take a House at Lima.—Visit the Officers of Government.—Encouragem[illegible]ventual Success.

The rainy season had now begun; and the storms from the northwest were frequently so violent as to prevent communication with the town, for several days in succession. To pass the winter on board this ship, without making any progress towards bringing my affairs to a close, presented a prospect so dreary and discouraging, that I began again to think of some means by which to extricate myself from this state of thraldom. The Potrillo, of sixteen guns, was now the only vessel of war in port; and she could not be made ready for sea in less than twenty-four hours. The Beaver was, at this time, lying with her sails bent, and loaded with sugar and tobacco, an excellent cargo for Valparaiso. Six of my men were acting as seamen on board, who would readily have joined me in cutting her out. It was not a difficult, or even a very dangerous enterprise; but, was the advantage commensurate with the risk? Whether successful, or otherwise, would it not have a tendency to invalidate the claim on the

Spanish government? In fine, would it not be abandoning a certainty for an uncertainty?

While deliberating on the wisdom of this project, the Esmeralda frigate and Pezuela brig arrived; the former having been boarded while blockading Valparaiso, by the Chilian ship of war Lautaro. She would have been captured, but for the accidental separation of the ships before a competent number of men were able to board. The few who succeeded in following their captain, had complete possession of the upper deck for some minutes. When the ships separated, the Spaniards seeing the small number on board, rallied [illegible]led them all, —among whom was the captain of the Lautaro, and the carpenter of the Beaver, the same who escaped in the boat, as related, soon after arriving at Talcahuana.

The day after the arrival of these vessels, May 6th, a ship from Lima came in, by which I hoped to hear something that might give a turn to our affairs; nor was I disappointed. The next morning, General Osorio, sent for Mr. Coffin and myself, and told us he intended despatching the brig Canton, immediately for Lima, under the American flag, and with an American crew; that we were to proceed in her, and that there justice would be rendered to us. This measure was in conformity with an order from the Viceroy; and was the effect of my letter to him dated the 28th of January last. A ray of hope once more dawned upon us; and the joy experienced at the prospect presented of speedy emancipation, was scarcely less intense than that which the criminal feels, who receives a reprieve when under the gallows. It was taking a step, and a very important one, if not towards recovering the property, at least, towards closing the business; and presented the prospect of an end to that distressing state of suspense, which is so wearing to the mind, when the object is so important. As every individual destined to embark in the Canton, was impatient to leave a place of so much misery as Talcahuana (for fevers had become very prevalent), the vessel was equipped with more than ordinary alacrity, and we took our departure on the 12th of May.

Seven months had now elapsed since we cast anchor in this truly wretched place; wretched from being subjected to the government of unprincipled men; wretched from po[illegible] filth, disease, and all those horrible calamities w[illegible] must accumulate in the seat of a civil war. It h[illegible]en a period to us, of continued privations, mortifications, provocations, and disgust; but we had all survived it; and the relief now afforded us, even if it were that only of changing the scene, seemed to give me renovated energy and spirits.

We had on board, as fellow-passengers, two lieutenant-colonels of the Royal army; one of whom was aid-de-camp to General Osorio, and was bearer of despatches relating to the disastrous battle of Maipo. If a judgment can be formed of the cleanliness of their countrymen from these officers, the mortality on board their ships, on long voyages, is easily accounted for. We were twelve days on the passage to Callao, and though the weather was always delightful, the personal habits of those gentlemen during the whole time were excessively offensive.

The Canton had on board about twenty-five thousand dollars' value of the Beaver's cargo, and some pieces of brass artillery, the trophies of Talca. I used occasionally to banter these officers on their imprudence in placing themselves thus in the power of men, who had experienced so great injury and provocation from the party to which they belonged; and to show them that I had only to say the word, and the vessel would be taken into Valparaiso, and they delivered up to their enemies; and I used to add, that their confidence was undoubtedly grounded on the appeal thus made to our honor, no less than to the consideration of its being clearly for our interest to proceed to Lima, and hence they had nothing to apprehend.

We anchored at Callao, on the 26th of May, and the next day obtained permission to proceed to Lima. Mr. Coffin and myself were kindly received and hospitably entertained at the house of the officers of the marine, with whom we had become acquainted at Talcahuana, until we could procure a house, as there were no hotels. We now were informed, that the United States ship Ontario had been here, that by her was brought the first intelligence of the destruction of the Royal army; that her commander was well received, and was on good terms with the Viceroy; that he had volunteered to go to Chili with an agent for negotiating an exchange of prisoners; that he was now absent on that mission, and might be here again in two or three weeks. These circumstances all favored the restoration of our property. The following day Mr. Coffin and myself were presented, by Dr. Pedro Abadia, agent of the Philippine Company, to the Viceroy. Our reception was as favorable as we had any reason to expect, or as was consistent with the policy which it was his duty to observe towards us. He addressed us in a stern and earnest manner, accusing the Americans and English of promoting and encouraging the rebellion by furnishing the insurgents with arms and ammunition; of contravening the laws, by introducing merchandise into the country and taking away the specie, without paying any duty on the import or export, and thereby seriously injuring the commerce and prosperity of the country. But, nevertheless, he added, that we might rely on his protection while here, that the proper authorities would investigate the business relative to the ships, and that justice should be rendered to us. Without giving us an opportunity to reply, he abruptly withdrew. I did not augur any thing unfavorable from the interview, although I was aware, that his general charges against our countrymen were true.

The excessive aversion to business of the men in office, and the heedlessness and waste of time, which has long been observed as so peculiar to this people, would have induced us to expect great delay, even if the issue should be against us; but with every encouragement to believe it would be in our favor, we hardly dared look forward to the distant period which might bring our business to a close. We therefore set about hiring and furnishing a house, and making such provision for a comfortable residence, as strangers in most other cities of equal magnitude find already prepared. We agreed upon one that would answer our purpose; but were prevented taking possession for several days, while trying to get rid of the myriads of fleas with which every room was filled, and which, though greatly diminished by frequent washing and sweeping, were never entirely destroyed; and we had only to submit to an evil, for which we could find no remedy, and to which the natives, from long habit, had become accustomed.

To be possessed once more of a domicile exclusively my own, was a luxury that can be properly appreciated by those only who have been harassed and vexed as I had been. As the unhappy mortal, waking from a night of sickly dreams which seemed an age, rejoices, though fatigued, to find the danger imaginary, so this sudden succession of tranquillity to an age of trouble, though so dearly paid for, afforded me no less cause of relief. Henceforth I had to apprehend no more restraint from an arrogant military g[illegible] no more *surveillance* from the harpies of the c[illegible]m-house; no further persecution from a Fiscal and [illegible]sessor, whose characters would have made them worthy members of the Inquisition, in the most rude ages of its existence. Patience was now the virtue which it was most requisite to call into action, since to avoid disappointment we must be prepared for a great waste of time. But it is less difficult to reconcile one's self to minor ills, after having been so long subjected to such severe ones; nor did the novelties presented by the Peruvian capital, fail to beguile the time.

Through the kind attention of two of the officers of the Royal navy, (Mr. Bocholan and Mr. Rivera,) we were introduced to several of the most respectable families of Lima, whom we were afterwards accustomed to visit on the most friendly terms. In addition to these, our business necessarily brought us in contact with the General of Marine, with the Assessor of Marine and his family, and with the Fiscal, by all of whom we were treated with the politeness and respect, which, in the civilized world, is due from one gentleman to another; and which formed a striking contrast to our experiences at Talcahuana. As it respected our business, there seemed to prevail but one opinion, as to the reprehensible conduct of the government of Talcahuana, and the probable revocation of all their proceedings, which the Fiscal termed *disparates*, or nonsense.

CHAPTER XII.

Arrival of the Ontario.—Threat of the Viceroy to send me away.—His Change of Opinion.—Promise of Protection.—Plan a Voyage to Valparaiso.—Engage a Ship.—Engagement broken.—Disappointment.—Embark for Valparaiso in the Andromache.—Captain Sheriffe, Officers, and Crew.—Observance of the Sabbath.—Recreation.—Masafuera.—Juan Fernandez.—Arrival.

While the proper authorities were taking the preliminary measures for an investigation of the doings of the Talcahuana government towards us, (near the last of June, 1818,) the Ontario arrived from Valparaiso, with the person charged by the Viceroy with powers to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. The satisfaction given by Captain Biddle on this mission, manifested by the Viceroy's presenting him with an elegant and costly sword, the lively interest he took in the restoration of our vessels, the attention given by the Viceroy to his representations on the subject, and the prevailing opinion that they must be restored, all confirmed the belief of a revocation of the doings at Talcahuana.

Every thing relating to our affairs, now wore an auspicious aspect, and my mind was busily engaged in forming the various plans for future operations, which depended equally on the amount of property restored, and on the privileges to be granted us. In imagination, I was building up a fortune, which the peculiar political state of the country seemed to insure; and from this coincidence of favorable circumstances, was in the enjoyment of a degree of complacency to which I had long been a stranger. But I was suddenly astonished and confounded by the information conveyed to me by Captain Biddle, directly from the Viceroy, that I was considered by his Excellency to be a dangerous man; that he should not permit me to remain to settle my affairs; but that I should be sent out of the country immediately; and the reason given for this determination, was information, from three different sources, that I had uttered treasonable opinions; among others, having declared his government to be a tyrannical one, and that the sooner it was overthrown the better.

As from a knowledge of the necessity of extreme caution on the subject of politics, I had always been on my guard, I did not hesitate to declare the accusation to be entirely false; nor would my surprise have been greater, if I had been charged with intent to assassinate the Viceroy. This communication was made to me by Captain Biddle at Callao, while he was on the point of sailing for Columbia River, and after he had taken leave of the Viceroy; he could not, therefore, advocate my cause otherwise than by letter. On revolving in my mind, whence so malicious and wicked a report could originate, I could account for it in no other way, than that some of those scoundrels who had been engaged in the plunder of my ship, and to whom I had often justly, but perhaps, imprudently, applied that epithet, being apprehensive of exposure, had adopted this measure to have me removed out of the way.

With this impression, with Captain Biddle's letter, and with that confidence which conscious innocence inspires, I went, the next day, to the Viceroy. He received me with civility, and repeated what he had told Captain Biddle, that the accusation came from three sources. I positively denied the charge, made known my suspicion of its origin, and begged that my accusers might be called before him, while I was present. This he declined doing. I then assured him, that no one of his subjects could be less disposed to meddle with governmental affairs than myself; that to send me away before my business was settled, would be attended with such ruinous consequences to me, that I should prefer remaining, even if it were under either of the hard conditions, of being confined to the limits of St. Lorenzo, of being shut up in the Castle of Callao, or being confined to my ship, or my house; and proposed to give bonds for the due observance of whichever should be determined by his Excellency.

If he had been as perfectly convinced of my innocence as he appeared to be before of my guilt, he could not have evinced it more decidedly. The expression of his countenance was suddenly changed from the forbidding and angry, to the open and benign; and he said to me, "No, Cleveland; I will take none of those precautions; your word of honor is sufficient, and I am convinced, if you made use of the expressions reported to me, it could only have been in an unguarded moment, and is, in a degree, palliated by the great provocations you have endured; but," he added, with emphasis, "take care not to meddle with politics or religion, and depend upon my protection while you are a resident here." Thus as a thundergust, whose violence threatens destruction to every thing within its range, passes harmlessly away, and is succeeded by serenity and sunshine, so were my prospects suddenly changed from the most gloomy and adverse, to bright and favorable.

Although the cases of the Beaver and Canton (which were precisely similar) involved no questions of intricacy; yet, to decide them, without the requisite waste of time, would have been entirely out of character; neither justice, nor humanity could have excused it; and so perfectly aware were we of this, that we only urged that the decisions might take place in time for Captain Biddle to take them to the United States, on his return from Columbia river. We had, therefore, to look forward to a period, of at least four months, in which, as no new questions were to be asked, my presence appeared entirely unnecessary, and my time lost, unless I could think of some plan for its employment.

It occurred to me that a great opening was presented for a very lucrative voyage, by taking to Valparaiso a cargo of the produce of Peru, and returning with wheat, if permission could be obtained; and if a suitable neutral vessel could be procured. I made known my plan to a rich mercantile house, who readily agreed to furnish the capital on joint account, under my direction, and to procure from the Viceroy the requisite permit. The only obstacle, now, was the want of a ship; but, as the voyage would afford to pay extravagantly, I had no doubt of obtaining any whaling ship that might enter the port, if not loaded.

These preliminary steps had hardly been taken, when there arrived precisely such a ship as was desired, with only sixty barrels of oil on board, having just arrived on the coast. I lost no time in applying to the captain to charter his ship; and anticipating difficulties from the novelty of the undertaking to him, I expected to obviate them, by the very tempting proposal I was prepared to make, for the use of his ship for three or four months; which would be as advantageous as a year's successful fishing. I offered him for the voyage to Valparaiso and back to Callao, fifteen thousand dollars; to pay additionally, if he should be more than three months performing it; and to provide storage for his casks and whaling materials gratis. The proposal was considered so liberal and tempting, that he agreed to accept it; but unfortunately, between his doing so and the papers being prepared for signing, his officers and men were guilty of some indiscretion, in consequence of a knowledge of this transaction, which induced him to apprehend that he was taking too great a responsibility upon himself, and he concluded to abandon the plan.

The failure of this first attempt to retrieve my affairs, was a great disappointment, especially after I had succeeded in overcoming all the other obstacles; but there was no other neutral vessel in port, to be procured; and consequently no other remedy than the exercise of that patience on which such large drafts had already been made.

Several weeks passed away, and I was each day anxiously looking out for the arrival of some other vessel, which would offer the prospect of putting my enterprise into execution; but I looked in vain. As the Canton was a sharp-built vessel, and sailed very fast, the government determined to make use of her as a cruiser, during the time that an investigation into her case was going on. For this purpose, carpenters were busily engaged in making the requisite preparations for mounting a piece of artillery, on a pivot amidships, &c. &c.; when a vessel of war was signalled, which was supposed to be the Ontario. Immediately all labor was suspended, and preparation made to undo the work already done. But when the vessel, instead of the Ontario proved to be the British ship of war Blossom, the work was resumed, and the armament completed; thus showing, among many other instances, the deference paid by the authorities to the presence of a national vessel, and its importance in securing the safety of property. The Canton, being equipped for war, sailed on a cruise in company with another armed ship, and assisted in capturing the Chilian privateer Maipo, after a severe action. She was afterwards restored to her original master, and, after navigating the coast about a year, returned to the United States.

Impatient from inactivity, and such unprofitable expenditure of time, and aware how much more must be lost before the restoration of the ship should give me employment, I determined to find something to do. It appeared to me, that a trip to Valparaiso would be placing myself in the current of affairs, and that, should nothing advantageous present itself, it would be a change of scene; and that my expenses would be scarcely greater than if I remained stationary at Lima. As the Andromache, English frigate, was on the point of sailing for that port, I succeeded with her commander in obtaining a passage; and having procured a passport from the Viceroy, I embarked, and sailed on the morning of the 3d of August.

The beautiful manner in which the ship was got under way, made a strong impression on my mind, from an exhibition of discipline which I had never before seen. When the marines were dismissed after the morning parade, the colors hoisted, and the national air, "God save the King," played, every officer and man being at his station, and the capstern manned, a signal was made by the captain, to heave ahead; the cable came in briskly; the anchor was soon tript, and up ready for hooking the cat. While the ship was swinging round, the men, who had been stationed for the purpose, at the shrouds of each mast, on a signal given, ran up simultaneously to cast loose the sails, while the requisite number were stationed below, to sheet home, and hoist up; so that almost in a moment, the ship was under a crowd of sail, and swiftly leaving the port; and all this effected without a word being spoken, and as if by the effect of magic.

We arrived at Valparaiso, after a delightful passage of twenty-four days. I cannot allow the pleasant time I spent on board this frigate to pass without some notice, and without acknowledging the erroneous impressions I had imbibed, of a British ship of war. In common with many others, and especially those, like myself, whose reminiscences were of a date as remote as our revolutionary war, I had imagined an English man-of-war to be a small epitome of hell, where tyrannizing over the crew constituted the principal enjoyment of the officers. That there were great abuses of this kind in the navy, from a very early period, up to the alarming revolt under President Parker, I have no doubt, any more than I have that abuses have occasionally existed since; but, on board the Andromache, there was never any unnecessary severity.

Captain Sheriffe, having had the advantage of moving in the most elevated and polished society at home, and of receiving his professional education from one of the most able commanders in the British navy, united the manners and urbanity of the gentleman, to those of the skilful and accomplished commander. His indefatigable perseverance in attending to the protection of the commercial interests of his country, and his judicious conduct in his intercourse with the governments of Chili and Peru, in the most trying times, were no less evidence of his superior abilities, than of the wisdom and discrimination of those who appointed him. Nor did these important duties interfere with those of his ship's company, to whose morals, manners, cleanliness, and comfort he was attentive, at the same time granting them so many innocent indulgences, that they certainly constituted the happiest ship's company I had ever seen.

With such a commander, the officers could not fail to be gentlemanly in their deportment, and attentive to their duty; but, independently of such example, there was evidently an innate desire among them to second the views of their worthy commander; and, messing with them, I had good opportunity of witnessing a degree of amiability, harmony, and good fellowship, which, unfortunately, is not always met with in the ward-room. Of their kind attention to me, and desire to make me comfortable, I shall always retain a grateful recollection.*

With Captain Sheriffe, the passengers, of whom there were four beside myself, were invited to dine in rotation, and my turn was, generally, two or three times a week. An excellent band, of about twenty performers, always played during dinner; invariably beginning with "God save the King," and ending with "Rule Britannia." After dinner, the men were usually exercised at the great guns; and if the weather was ever so fine, the topsails were always reefed before sunset. Sparring, fencing, and dancing, were the amusements of the midshipmen, in which the Captain would frequently join.

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* One of the Lieutenants was a son of the Admiral Cochrane, who, by stripping me of my property, in the West Indies, created the necessity for my being now voyaging in the Pacific. He was a gentlemanly young man; and was ignorant of the suffering his father had caused me.

The seamen, also, had their hours of relaxation, music, and dancing, once or twice a week. Sunday never failed to be duly hallowed. Soon after breakfast, every officer appeared on the quarter-deck in his uniform; the marines were dressed clean and paraded. The gun-deck, having been previously prepared with benches, and a temporary pulpit, at a signal given (usually about ten o'clock) every one attended worship, which was performed with as much solemnity and decency, as I ever witnessed in any church. The chaplain never failed to give a plain, good, moral lesson, perfectly adapted to the understandings of his audience; and such as they could not fail to profit by. The music, from the full band, was delightful; and when they played, as they often did, the Portuguese and Pleyel's hymns, which were familiar to me, they called up associations of by-gone and happier days.

On the 24th, we passed between the Islands Masafuera and Juan Fernandez; the next day was passed in sailing by the latter, to the southward of it; and the day after, we arrived at Valparaiso. In the numerous passages I have made at sea, I have no recollection of any one that afforded such a course of uninterrupted enjoyment, and which was so entirely pleasant as this in the Andromache. It has made an agreeable impression on my mind, which will never be obliterated.

CHAPTER XIII.

Visit to the Governor. — Difference in Effect of old and new Government. — Tariff. — Mistaken Policy. — Meet some of the Beaver's Men. — Expectation of Arrival of Supreme Director. — Rejoicing on his Arrival. — Meet with Ribas. — Introduced to the Supreme Director. — Proposal to enter the Service. — Charter a Brig. — Embargo. — Journey to Santiago. — Cuesta de Prado. — Maipo. — Sketch of the City. — Return to Valparaiso.

IMMEDIATELY after coming to anchor, I went on shore with the Captain of the port, who conducted me to the Governor's, where I was interrogated concerning the affairs of Lima. After answering a multitude of questions, and delivering to the Governor all the letters of which I had charge, I was permitted to take leave, and to pursue my own private affairs. While seeking the residence of our worthy consul, Mr. Hill, with whom I intended transacting my business, I accidentally and unfortunately met a relative from Boston, who persuaded me, that the house with which he was intimate, Higginson, O'Brien, & Co. would do my business more advantageously than any other in the place. Relying on this information, I accompanied my friend to this house; was introduced to the partners of it; accepted their invitation to take up my quarters with them, and had my baggage transported there.

These important preliminaries being settled, I had an opportunity of leisurely traversing those streets, which my friend Shaler and I had trodden together, sixteen years before. The government was then of the most despotic character, and the most determined feature of it was the exclusion of all foreigners, excepting those in distress, for whom provision was made by treaty. The government now professed to be republican; but it was so in name only, as the military tyranny was as great as it ever had been. But the admission of foreigners, and their commerce, gave an air of life and activity, which was never before known.

The lapse of so many years appeared to have made no alteration in the aspect of the town. It was as exactly what it was when I was here before, as if time had stood still; no new houses, no improvements; and the greater bustle in the streets was caused by the foreigners. The most striking feature presented, to mark the difference between that period and this, was the harbour, in which there were then two or three merchant vessels, with the royal flag hoisted. Now the harbour was crowded, and besides the Chilian vessels of war, the flags of many of the European nations, as well as that of the United States, were seen displayed.

But the resources of Chili are yet unequal to supporting a great commerce; and political economy is so little understood by its rulers, that they fail to derive all the advantage from it, of which it is susceptible. This, among other things, is manifested in their blindness to the truth of the seeming contradiction, that more revenue is collected when the duty on imports is ten per cent, than when it is forty. Yet, as this last was the policy of the old government, they adhere to it; so that, although this government is but of yesterday, there exists the same system of smuggling, and the same degree of corruption in the revenue officers, that was practised under the old régime. And it is most probable, that the present generation will pass away before the public injury arising from this wretched policy is detected, and then another one, before it is corrected.

In my wanderings about the town, I fell in with the boatswain and the cook of the Beaver, both of whom were among the number who escaped in the boat at Talcahuana. The former had seen hard and dangerous service, but had also shared in a prize, from which he derived more emolument than he would if he had performed the voyage in the Beaver safely. The latter was one of the number who boarded the Esmeralda from the Lautaro, and was so fortunate as to secure a retreat when he perceived the ships to be separating. He informed me that our carpenter, Svend Anderson, was also among those who boarded the Spanish frigate; but, less fortunate than his shipmate, he was slain on that ship's deck. It is due to this man, *en passant*, to say, that he was an excellent carpenter, an orderly, active, and industrious man, and was probably induced to engage in this enterprise from want of employment. The two first were so well pleased with the excitement incident to the pursuit of war, and to the greater emoluments they might chance to derive from it, that they declined my proposal of returning with me to Lima, to join their old ship again.

As it was known that the Supreme Director would soon come to Valparaiso, to be present at the sailing of the fleet, I relinquished the plan of proceeding directly to Santiago, as I had intended. Great bodies, however, are proverbial for moving slowly, as this instance verified, for more than a week had elapsed from the time when, according to public rumor, he should have arrived. At length, however, the extended cavalcade was seen over the distant hills, making its way towards the town, and the long-expected chief and his family, with the proper military escort, arrived amid a cloud of dust, the clang of arms, the roar of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the welcoming cheer of the mob.

While at my door, engaged in seeing the procession pass, and as I supposed, unknowing and unknown to everybody, I was much surprised to see a person leave the procession, and, approaching me with earnestness, call me by name. He immediately dismounted to salute me, and I then perceived it to be Francis Ribas, the young gentleman who came out as clerk of the Beaver, and escaped in the boat as before narrated. We had then time only to exchange mutual acknowledgments of satisfaction, at this very unexpected meeting. The next day we met again, when he apologized for leaving me as he had done at Talcahuana, and related his very narrow escape. He said, that the balls from the musketry of the pursuers passed far ahead of their boat, but fortunately no person was hurt; that the Patriot cavalry were watching their approach, and were ready at the sea-shore to receive them and arrest further pursuit; that he was conducted to the Commander-in-chief at Conception, who received him very kindly, and provided him with the means of proceeding to Santiago, where he recommended his going to see the Supreme Director; that his reception by this chief had been of the most friendly character; that he renewed his wardrobe; took him into his family, and gave him employment in the Secretary's office, to which he was then attached. Indeed, I found that my friend Ribas, like the others who escaped with him, had changed his prospects so much for the better, as to have no desire to join the Beaver again.

By Mr. Ribas I was introduced to the Supreme Director, O'Higgins, whose father had been greatly distinguished in the Chilian annals as a public benefactor. This son probably owed his high post to the veneration existing for his father's memory, for although admitted to be a man of good moral character, and of a good heart, there was nothing but his name and fortune to make him a prominent candidate for the responsible office of Supreme Director, even in quiet times, much less in those of revolution and war, like the present. His appearance was plain, simple, and becoming a republican, approximating more to that of an honest farmer, than to the refinement of a gentleman. He received me with great cordiality, expressed much sympathy in the misfortunes and perplexities I had suffered, hoped I should recover the property so unjustly taken from me, &c. He then made many inquiries relative to the state of affairs at Lima; how the military and naval forces were then disposed of; whether there were any rumors circulating of an attack from the Chilian squadron; if the people appeared to apprehend such an attack, &c. To all which queries I replied in as laconic a manner as possible.

Mr. Ribas had undoubtedly impressed him very favorably towards me, for, in this first interview, he offered me a commission in the Chilian navy. Making due acknowledgment for the favorable opinion this proposal indicated, I told him that there existed scarce a doubt of the restoration of my ship; that however much I should be pleased to use my efforts in promoting the cause of the revolution, my duty to my employers was paramount, and forbade my neglecting their interest, for this or any other purpose. As he had expressed so much feeling for my misfortunes, I was induced then to ask him, so far to contribute to their relief, as to grant me permission to lade a small vessel with wheat for Lima. He encouraged me to expect that this permission would be given; but said he must first consult his secretaries, and would give an answer the next day. The interview having continued nearly an hour, to the great annoyance of many who were waiting in the antechamber, I made my bow and retreated. On the presumption, that if the decision should be unfavorable to my taking a cargo of wheat, there could exist no possible objection to my going in ballast, I had already chartered the English brig Livonia, to lade for Lima and thence back to Valparaiso with another cargo, for nine thousand dollars. In the expectation of a favorable answer from the Supreme Director, I waited on him the next day, at the hour appointed, and was disappointed to find him less disposed to accede to my wishes than I had any reason to expect, from the interview of yesterday. The secretaries, I had ascertained, urged the impolicy of granting such privilege, exclusively to one individual, and suggested the advantage that would result to the revenue, by making it general. In conformity with this idea, it was immediately proclaimed, that licenses for lading wheat for Lima, would be granted, on condition of paying an export duty of four dollars the fanega. This duty was nearly double the original cost, and with the duty and charges in Lima would make it come so high as to afford [illegible] prospect of benefit, and determined me, therefore, to have nothing to do with it. My best course now appeared to be, to proceed, as soon as possible, to Lima, and to depend on the profits of the return cargo, or on freight, for the requisite compensation.

With this intention, the brig being ready, I was on the point of sailing, when I had a proposition to lade the vessel with manufactures. There were two objections to this; the first, was the fear of an embargo, which there was no doubt would take place prior to the sailing of the fleet; the second, was the uncertainty of obtaining the admission of such a cargo at Lima. The first difficulty was obviated by the contractor engaging to lade the vessel in five days, and if not so laden, she was to proceed with what she had on board, at the expiration of that time. The second, by his stipulating, that if the cargo should not be admitted at Lima, and the brig should in consequence, be compelled to return with it to Valparaiso, he would pay the amount of the charter. Thus having a fair prospect of reaping great advantage, without incurring any risk, I closed the contract, and immediately set about loading the brig.

Before the five days had elapsed, however, my apprehension of the embargo was realized. It was proclaimed to exist till the sailing of the fleet. Although this act was dictated by prudence and wisdom at this time, yet my impatience became so great that I had serious thoughts of eluding it, by going off alone in a boat; in which I should have no doubt of reaching Lima in safety. But beside the assurance, that the fleet would sail at the time appointed, and that the embargo would be raised immediately after, was to be taken into consideration, the effect of such an act upon the enterprise on which I had already engaged, and these causes combined to produce the requisite resignation.

On perceiving that a month, at least, must elapse before the embargo would be raised, during which, to remain idle at Valparaiso would be very tedious, I determined to fill up the time by making a visit to the Chilian capital. Accordingly, early in September, I set out with a party of three, on this journey, on horseback, for the roads were too rough for the use of light carriages. As there was no cause for hurrying, we jogged on very leisurely, taking three days to perform a journey of only thirty leagues. The exercise, being of a kind to which I was entirely unaccustomed, was, however, very fatiguing to me. We found no other accommodation for travellers, on this road, than such as is offered by the houses of the peasantry, which is indeed very miserable, bad enough to induce an effort to go through in a day, if possible. That the road was as good as we found it, was owing chiefly to the indefatigable exertions of a former President, O'Higgins, who evinced a mind of no ordinary compass, in planning and causing to be executed, that part of the road which leads to the city over the Cuesta de Prado, or hill of the meadow, a labor of such great utility, and of such (for the time when it was made) stupendous magnitude, as to perpetuate his name.

The borders of the zigzag road, over this hill, are lined with shrubbery, among which the thornbush prevailed, which, being at this time in blossom, perfumed the air with a delicious fragrance. At the summit, the view is very extensive, beautiful, and magnificent, increased by the invariable clearness of the atmosphere. The northern view is limited by the towering Andes. The southern and eastern, by hills of less magnitude; the intervening space being beautiful, rich, and wellirrigated meadows. As far as a judgment could be formed of the agricultural state of the country, from the transient view taken on our route, I should suppose it to be susceptible of great improvement. We reached the house of our friend at Santiago in the evening, after crossing the Cuesta de Prado, so much fatigued, that I was very glad to retire early to bed. A good night's rest was attended with refreshing effects; and with renovated energy I went forth, in the morning, "to see the lions."

The impressions made, on a first ramble over this city, are prepossessing. It had more the air of cleanliness, and attention to the comforts of the most numerous class, the pedestrians, than any other Spanish city I had ever seen. A week's residence within its walls made me familiar with its streets, public buildings, walks, &c.; of which I shall attempt only a hasty sketch. This capital of the Chilian republic is situated on a fine fertile plain, at the foot of the Andes. The river Mapocho, over which a fine bridge of stone is erected, connecting the suburbs with the city, is prevented inundating the city, during the period of freshets, by strong barriers of masonry on each side. That on the side of the city, in addition to the original purpose, forms one of the most agreeable and most frequented public walks. The southern extremity of the plain is bounded by the river Maipo; a name rendered for ever memorable in the Chilian annals, by the decisive victory gained over the invading Royal army, which unalterably established the independence of Chili.

In the eastern part of the city, rises abruptly from the plain a remarkable rocky hill, called St. Lucia, which is said, formerly, to have been fortified as a defence against the Indians. This fortification has, by a late royal President, been renewed, and some cannon mounted on it, with a view to overawe the populace; and hence the name of the President's Folly has been given to it.

In most Catholic cities, the churches are the structures most costly and magnificent; and though Santiago is not deficient in this respect, yet the building called the Mint, and the exterior appearance of the custom-house, are far more imposing and magnificent than any other. The Mint, which was designed by, and built under the superintendence of, a native and self-taught architect, is the pride of the city, and indeed would be creditable to any city of Europe. But it is objected by some, that the resources of Chili, even in her most prosperous days, would not justify its great expense. The private dwellings, excepting a greater proportion of houses of two stories, are built precisely like those of Lima, forming a hollow square or court, and occupying a great space of ground. The streets, which intersect at right angles, are generally of a good breadth, and, for the most part, clean; and good side-walks prove, that plebeian comforts are more attended to here, than at Lima.

The Great Square, which is justly the boast of all Spanish cities, is very fine, each side measuring between four and five hundred feet. The Cathedral, Bishop's palace, Audiencia, and other fine buildings, form its sides; and the centre is adapted to the exercise of troops. The women have no peculiarity of dress, like those of Lima, but observe the European fashions. They are generally admitted to be pretty and amiable, and no more cultivated than is proper to make them fitting companions for the men. The population is estimated at sixty thousand. On the whole, it must be admitted, that Santiago possesses a climate which is unrivalled for its salubrity, that it is a desirable residence for the man of leisure, for the philosopher, or for men in office; but, as a commercial city, it can never be great or flourishing.

The object of my visit to Santiago being accomplished, — that of wearing away so much time, — I returned to Valparaiso, accompanied by one of the gentlemen who came up with me. We passed one night only on the road; and, at the close of the second day's journey, reached our destination, less fatigued than with our ride up. As the embargo was not yet raised, my absence had, in no degree, retarded or injured my business; and I derived no less satisfaction from this consideration, than from having accomplished an object requiring a kind of exertion to which I was entirely unused, — riding on horseback.

CHAPTER XIV.

Sail for Callao.—Arrival.—Revocation of the Decree of Condemnation.—Overtures to buy the Ship.—Take Possession of the Beaver.—Obligation to Captain Biddle.—Livonia.—Obligation to Captain Sheriff.—Embargo.—Blossom, English Vessel of War.—Judge Prevost.—His bad Odor with the Viceroy.—Difficulty of procuring Men.—Obviated by Prisoners.—Capture of Isabella.—Expectation of the Chilian Fleet.—Remove the Beaver below the Fleet.—Ready for Sea.

The squadron, on whose account the embargo had been laid, having sailed, and the Supreme Director having returned to Santiago, I waited in daily expectation of being permitted to sail; but such permission was not granted till the 28th of October, when the sailing of the British frigate Andromache, for Lima, left no further plea for our detention. Accordingly, we sailed the next day, in the Livonia, for Callao. During the passage we experienced no other than the favorable breezes, fine weather, and smooth sea, which is so common in making this passage, and, after twelve days, arrived safely at Callao.

Before coming to anchor, a boat came alongside from the Ontario, in which I went immediately on board that ship to see Captain Biddle. He received me very cordially; told me he had been earnestly attempting to bring the government to a decision in the cases of the Beaver and Canton; that, with this view, he had stated to the Viceroy the sensation which had been caused in the United States by the capture of these vessels; the importance of their restoration to a continuance of the harmony which existed between their respective governments, and the hope that a favorable decision would be made in time to take it with him to the United States. These representations were earnest, friendly, in accordance with duty, and doubtless had an effect in hastening the business; but the restoration of the ship, and what remained of her cargo, were acts entirely independent of these efforts, and are of a description, which prudential reasons prevent being made public.

At length, on the 20 thof November, the long looked-for decree was issued, revoking that of Talcahuana, declaring that no cause of condemnation had existed, and that the ship, and whatever portion of the cargo remained in the government stores, should be restored forthwith, and that I must seek for the residue and damages where I thought proper.

There had existed no doubt of this decision; but the ship, having been twelve months in the hands of the Spaniards, was in a very dilapidated state. A crew could be obtained only with great difficulty; and the original object of the voyage was destroyed. A merchant of Lima, of the first respectability, aware of these circumstances, and presuming that my course would be the short and common one, in such cases, of selling the ship at public auction, for the benefit of the underwriters, made overtures to me to buy her in for joint account, to be employed in freighting on the coast. His furnishing the money, and my commanding the ship, were to be considered a balance for each other, and the profits to be equally divided. The proposal was a tempting one; as there was no doubt, it would lead directly to fortune. But it was obvious, if the ship could be advantageously employed, it should be for account of owners and underwriters; and feeling that in making up to them any portion of the property which had been lost, while under my care, would be more gratifying to me than the acquisition of fortune under such circumstances, I did not hesitate to decline the proposal.

On the 28th of November, an officer of the royal marine, having been appointed to deliver up the ship to me, I went on board with him, accompanied by a few men from the Ontario, and took formal possession of the ship, and such of her sails, rigging, and stores, as remained. These being very few, the business of reception was soon accomplished, when we discharged a cannon, and displayed the American colors, once more, on the Beaver. This signal being understood on board the Ontario, a strong detachment of men, with Lieutenant Stephens at their head, came on board, and before night had completely stripped the ship to a girtline.

If the Spaniards are filthy on board their own ships, it was fair to presume they would be more so on board one, which was supposed to be held only temporarily. We were therefore not surprised, to find the Beaver dirty in the extreme. Indeed, had we not had the good fortune of obtaining an abundant supply of men from the Ontario, much time must have been expended before we could have accomplished the requisite labor. With these the ship was cleansed and rigged in a very short time, compared with that in which it could have been done with the laborers attainable at Callao, and at a less expense. For this I felt myself greatly indebted to Captain Biddle, who extended his kindness still further, by supplying a want, which was imperative, and which I was unable to provide for in any other way, namely, that of a person to act as first officer; and one who would be qualified to take charge of the ship and property in the event of accident to myself. This person was midshipman Alexander B. Pinkham, an active, efficient, and intelligent officer, whose services were invaluable. The obligation, therefore, of owners and master to Captain Biddle, great as it was before, was much increased by this manifestation of desire to do all in his power for us. Indeed, his efforts were not confined to the rule prescribed by duty. He remained many days after being ready for sea, that I might have the benefit of his influence in obtaining a privilege which I sought, that of introducing a cargo into Lima from China, and in procuring an acknowledgment, and some kind of liquidation, of the debt.

The first object was defeated, by the opposing influence of the factors of the Philippine Company; but the Viceroy promised, in lieu of it, to grant some special privileges on the Peruvian coast. It was apparent, however, that there was no sincerity in these promises; and, as further delay would be prejudicial to the service, without benefiting us, Captain Biddle determined to lose no more time, and sailed on the 6th of December for Valparaiso, on his way to the United States.

In the mean time, the impediments that had been thrown in the way, by the Consulado and merchants of Lima, to prevent the Livonia from landing her cargo, were of so serious and determined a character, that nothing short of its being met with equal determination, on the part of Captain Sheriffe, of the Andromache, could have saved the enterprise from defeat. In the course of a week after her arrival, the Livonia had been three times ordered by the Viceroy to leave the port, and each time had taken refuge under the guns of the Andromache. At length, with a degree of perseverance, not inferior to that which had been manifested by Captain Biddle in our behalf, permission was obtained by Captain Sheriffe to trans-ship the cargo. This permission was understood by both parties to mean, that while a small portion was sent on board another ship, to be taken out leisurely, the greater was to be taken ashore. By this Jesuitical manœuvre, the opposition of the Consulado was appeased, and the object obtained with but little additional trouble and expense.

As soon as the brig was unloaded, I obtained permission to relade her with a cargo of Peruvian produce for Chili; but as there existed a probability of great competition, I was afraid to risk a large amount on my own account; and, therefore, loaded only one fourth the tonnage, taking the other three fourths on freight. With a view of arriving at Valparaiso before any of the other vessels, intended to be laden for that port, I had made great exertions and spared no expense, but I was again destined to experience delay and disappointment. The Livonia, being all ready for sea, the 15th of January, 1819, I applied for the requisite clearance, and was informed that it could not be granted; inasmuch, as an embargo was then laid on all ships in port, till the St. Antonio (with treasure) should have sailed for Spain. Though from taking on freight so large a portion of the lading of the Livonia, I had already secured a handsome emolument from my enterprise, this detention, by favoring competitors, seemed to annihilate the brilliancy of the prospect first presented; but there was no other resource than patience.

Early in this month (January, 1819,) arrived the English sloop of war Blossom, Captain Hickey, from Columbia River, having on board Judge Provost, of New York. This vessel had been despatched to Columbia River for the purpose of making a formal surrender of Astoria to Judge Provost, — the agent of the United States, — appointed for that and other purposes in the Pacific. This business appears to have been accomplished to mutual satisfaction, as both parties gave evidence of a reciprocity of kind feeling.

It would have been advantageous for the American interest here, if equal good feeling had existed between the American Agent and the Viceroy; but, unfortunately, the very reverse was the case. This Agent, from being the first American who ever appeared in the Peruvian capital in a public capacity, not less than from the favorable disposition of the Viceroy towards us, had an opportunity of obtaining commercial advantages, and of rendering services to his countrymen in various ways, which no other foreigner ever possessed before; but these were entirely paralysed and lost, by his incapacity of concealing his hostility to the royal government, and by his being a partisan of the revolutionists. His sentiments on these points were expressed so imprudently, so unnecessarily, and in so unreserved a manner, that they gave great offence to the Viceroy, and were productive of such coolness, that the common civility which is expected to be observed by a private individual on leaving the country, was either dispensed with by the Viceroy, or purposely neglected by the Diplomatist. From the acquaintance I here formed with Mr. Provost, I was fully persuaded of the sincerity of his sympathy in my misfortunes, and of his satisfaction at my prospect of surmounting them; but as to being indebted to his exertions and address for the restoration of the Beaver, as is recorded in one of the New York Gazettes of the day, so far from this being the case, his interference could not have failed to be prejudicial; and, aware of this, he did not use any.

While all commercial operations were suspended by the embargo, I was busily engaged in having the Beaver prepared to be ready for sea, as soon as it should be raised. For this purpose, we were kindly supplied with the requisite number of men from the Andromache, as none were procurable from shore; indeed, such was the scarcity of foreign seamen, that to collect the number required for the Beaver, appeared impossible. In making the exertions which I did for the restoration of the ship, which were the cause of that restoration, in undertaking the arduous task of manning and victualling the ship in a place so difficult as that of Callao, and in pursuing a freighting business on the coast, with no other than a crew made up of the most disorderly men, I was actuated only by an ambition to retrieve the loss, and to convince my employer that his confidence had not been misplaced, as this plan was entirely independent of my own private emolument. Indeed, as far as my own interest was concerned, the obligation to which the restoration of the ship subjected me, was manifestly very detrimental; as, but for this, with far less trouble, I could have obtained much greater profit.

As it was desirable, on various considerations, to lose no time after the embargo should be raised, the ship was put in complete readiness; but the difficulty of procuring men seemed to be insurmountable. As a last resource, though a somewhat hopeless one, I made known my embarrassment to the Viceroy, stating to him, that the restoration of my ship would be of no advantage without men; that men were not procurable at Callao, and that it would be conferring a great obligation, if he would permit me to select twelve or fifteen men from among the prisoners in the castle of Callao. He hesitated some moments at this proposal; but, after a little reflection, assented, on the condition that I would engage to do all in my power to prevent their again joining the ships of the enemy.

Acceding to this condition, the observance of which was more important to me than to him, he gave me an order to the governor of the castle, to deliver me fifteen men. There were, at this time, nearly a hundred prisoners in the castle; a large portion of whom had been taken in the Chilian privateer Maipo. They were of all nations, but principally English and Americans. As soon as they knew that I had an order for the release of fifteen of their number, the solicitude of all was so great to be among the fortunate ones, that making the selection was a task so disagreeable, that I relinquished it to the jailer, and took the chance of having inferior men. Having selected and taken the names of the men, they were not permitted to go on board till the embargo should be raised.

I had not yet obtained the license for lading with wheat and rice at Guanchaca, whence a freight was offered, but was daily encouraged by the Viceroy to expect it; for, although the Lima ship-owners were afraid to send their ships out, they were so clamorous against the novelty of substituting foreign ships in the coasting trade, that the Viceroy appeared to be intimidated, and deferred from day to day the promised license.

A visit from the Chilian squadron [illegible] and soon expected. Its augmented force, [illegible] from the recent capture at Talcahuana, of the [illegible] frigate Maria Isabella, and the circumstance of Lord Cochrane's having been appointed to the supreme command, were known at Lima. Being impressed with the idea, that this commander had been distinguished for intrepidity, where all were intrepid, and recollecting that he had been selected as best fitted to lead the party destined to burn the French fleet in Basque Roads, I presumed that burning that of Callao would be no more than sport for him; and never failed to express this opinion, whenever the expected attack was the subject of conversation. In confirmation of this belief, I took the precaution to move the Beaver some way below the shipping.

I had been repeatedly urged by Mr. Provost not to incur the risk of having my ship burned, by waiting for a license, which he did not believe would ever be given to me; but, to leave the place before the arrival of the fleet might cut off all possibility of doing so. The advice, I knew to be well intended and disinterested; but, it was certain, that he could not be so competent to judge of the risk of having the ship burned, as I was; and as to his opinion of the Viceroy's intentions, he was too blinded by prejudice to form a correct one; therefore, I preferred my own course, which was that of persevering until there should be an opening for some advantageous operation, for which the promised license would be granted.

CHAPTER XV.

Embargo raised. — Arrival of the Chilian Fleet. — Cannonading with the Batteries. Useless Result. — Removal of the Beaver. — Disposition of the Crew to desert. — Visit the Viceroy. — Obtain a License. — Chilian Proclamation of Blockade. — Visit Lord Cochrane's Ship. — Insolence of her Captain. — Sail for Pisco. — Arrival there. — Mutiny of the Crew. — Suppressed. — Sail for Guanchaca.

On Sunday, the 21st of February, the Andromache, with Mr. Provost as passenger, and the Livonia under her convoy, sailed for Valparaiso; at the same time sailed the Blossom, with a large amount of treasure; and the English brig Alexander, both destined for Rio Janeiro. As the Livonia was now fairly on her way to Valparaiso, as no other of the neutral vessels had yet begun to lade for that port, and as the arrival of the Chilian squadron, momentarily expected, might prevent them, I began to entertain more flattering expectations of my speculation, and to regret that I had not taken a greater interest in it.

Although the San Antonio had not sailed, yet she was so nearly ready, that the Viceroy did not consider it of importance to require Captain Sheriffe to defer his departure any longer on this account. In this, however, there was an evident want of judgment; as Captain Sheriffe fell in with the Chilian squadron, in forty-eight hours after leaving Callao. It is presumable, that the Chilian commander obtained no information of the

San Antonio being on the point of sailing, otherwise he would not have proceeded immediately for Callao, but would have remained out of sight, to windward, where this rich ship would have fallen into his hands. Fortunately for the owners of the property on board this ship, her departure was deferred from day to day, until the 28th of February, when the arrival of the Chilian squadron put it out of the question.

This is the season of the year when the atmosphere is almost incessantly enveloped in a thick fog, and it was at this time extremely dense. It happened that the Viceroy had selected this day to make his annual visit to the fleet and line of defence recently completed. While on this duty, and making a circuit in the bay, on board the brig Maipo, unsuspicious of danger, his retreat was near being cut off, and himself made prisoner, by the O'Higgins and the Lautaro, Chilian ships of war. The brig had just returned, and come to anchor, when, the fog dispersing, presented these two ships within half cannon-shot distance of the castle. The Maria Isabella or O'Higgins, as now called, displayed the American flag, but this was disregarded at the fort; as, immediately, the cannonading began from the castle, fort, and men-of-war. The guns, however, were evidently elevated for ships at a greater distance, as, for a few minutes, we saw the shot, falling in abundance, a long way outside the Chilian ships; and then again every object was hidden from our sight, by a return of the fog. As neither party could now see any object to aim at, we had soon evidence that they were firing at random, for several shot passed between our masts, and were striking the water, both inside and outside of the Beaver. Fearing, therefore, that the ship might sustain some serious injury, we slipped our cables, and made sail to get out of the way. In the course of ten minutes, we perceived ourselves to be close alongside a large ship, which proved to be the San Martin, of sixty-four guns, Captain Wilkinson. The fog continuing to be so dense that friend could not be distinguished from foe,—we came near having the whole broadside of that heavy ship poured into us; every man was at his station, matches lighted, and waiting only the word, fire; when they perceived us to be a merchant ship, with the American flag.* We soon after came to anchor about four miles below Callao, where we were joined by the other neutral vessels, two of which had been struck by shot from the batteries.

The O'Higgins and the Lautaro, favored by the fog, had reached a most advantageous position for cutting out the Spanish vessels, before a gun had been fired; the San Martin was near, and ready to afford succour in case the other ships should be crippled in their spars, or otherwise; and there was, all the time, a fine leading breeze, which would enable them to bring away any prizes they might make, or to retreat themselves, if it should be found necessary. Under so favorable a coincidence of circumstances, the complete success of the enterprise, by the capture of all the Spanish vessels in port, seemed to be inevitable, although it could be done only at the expense of a great sacrifice of life, on either side,—a consideration of trifling weight, generally, in enterprises of this description. An incessant and tremendous cannonading had been kept up, for about half an hour, after which we heard only an occasional gun, and then a dead silence succeeded. It was now evident that the battle had ceased; but who were the victors, or who the vanquished, whether we were to see the Spanish fleet brought away by the Chilian, or the latter crippled and flying before their enemy, were events of the most interesting and exciting character, but of which we were unable to form an opinion, owing to the extreme density of the fog. At length, the fog dispersing, we perceived the Chilian fleet within about a mile of us, unaccompanied by any prize, and apparently uninjured. They came to anchor near the island of San Lorenzo. Such a result, such a failure under so favorable auspices, surprised everybody, and, by inspiring the Spaniards with increased confidence, augmented the hazard of a second attack.

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* While speaking this ship, five of my men jumped overboard, and were taken up by her boat, sent for the purpose.

While lying at anchor, at about two miles' distance from the Chilian fleet, a disposition was manifested, by my men, to desert to them. If they succeeded, it would be impossible to procure others, and the consequence would be ruinous. To avert such a misfortune, recourse to the most desperate means must be used, if others failed. I therefore secured the boats, loaded my pistols, and threatened with instant death any one who should make the attempt. A rigorous watch, by myself and officers, and a conviction on the part of the crew of the danger of the undertaking, kept them quiet. Early next morning, I proceeded to Callao, and experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining permission to land, but at length succeeded, and went immediately to Lima, where, on arrival, I lost no time, before waiting on the Viceroy, whom I found surrounded with officers, civil, military, and naval, summoned to deliberate on the best course to pursue in the existing emergency.

As he knew my ship was lying near those of the enemy, and presumed I might have had intercourse with them, he did not permit me to wait many minutes for an audience. But I could give him no information which he did not already possess, of the size of the ships, and the number of guns. Of the crews, whether their complement was full or not; or whether the men were seamen or otherwise, I knew nothing. I then stated to his Excellency the mutinous disposition of the Beaver's men; the difficulty I had experienced in preventing their joining the Chilians; the only mode of preventing it being that of sending them to prison again, or of enabling me to take them away, by delaying no longer to furnish me with the promised license. The propriety and urgency of the last measure was so obvious, that, no longer regarding the remonstrances of the Lima ship-owners, he directed the Secretary immediately to make out a license for the Beaver, to proceed to Pisco, Guanchaca, and Pacasmayo. This was sent to me next day at Callao, whither I returned the same day.

I now applied to the General of Marine for launches, wherewith to get my cables and anchors, (which had been slipped,) and take them to the ship; but he refused from the apprehension, that they might be taken from me by the enemy. I had, therefore, no other resource left, than that of going with the ship to the anchors. With this view, we got under way on the 2d of March, and beat up to where our anchors lay, which having recovered, we were ordered to move down again, as all the neutral vessels had done, in order that we might not serve as a shield to the enemy, in case of an attack.

The intercourse of the neutrals with Callao, was now interdicted by the Royalists, and those of them who had not taken the precaution to supply themselves with water and provisions, were actually in distress, and could find but partial relief from their neighbours. Whilst the supercargoes and agents of the several neutral ships were suffering the greatest embarrassment from their non-communication with the shore, the difficulties were greatly augmented by a proclamation of the Chilian commander, Lord Cochrane, which was communicated to the masters of all the neutral vessels then present, declaring the whole coast of Peru, from its southern extremity to Guayaquil, in a state of vigorous blockade; and giving neutrals until the 10th of March to settle their affairs, and remove themselves from its influence.

This measure seemed at first sight to threaten annihilation to the prospect presented by the license, of which I had been so long in pursuit, and was of so serious a nature, as to require much pondering upon the next step I should take. The incompetency of their naval force to a legal blockade, even of one eighth part of the coast declared to be blockaded, the origin of the measure, and the intention, being merely an apology for the plunder of neutrals, were circumstances so palpable, as to leave no doubt in the minds of the most unobserving. Recollecting that the government of the United States had manifested a determined disregard of the paper blockades of England and France, from whence this was imported, in a direct line, by his lordship in person, I had no doubt of protection from my government in disregarding this. Besides, to suppose, that the Chilian

Republic would hazard offending her best friend, by persisting in enforcing a measure evidently adopted with a view to plunder, by a few English adventurers, would be supposing her to act with a degree of imbecility inconsistent with her general policy since her attainment of independence.

From these considerations, as well as from not knowing what else to do with the ship, I determined to pursue the plan I had marked out at first; and as the port of Callao must be considered now as legally blockaded, not to return there, until I had ascertained that the blockade was raised. This decision was in opposition to that of all the other neutral agents, and of the twelve neutral vessels then lying in Callao bay, the Beaver was the only one whose destination was not defeated, and prospects ruined by this proclamation of blockade.

Being all prepared to sail on the 8th of March, I went on board the O'Higgins frigate, to demand my men, but with no expectation of their restoration. Accordingly, when I made known to the Captain of that ship, an Englishman, by the name of Foster, the object of my visit, he not only peremptorily refused giving them up, but in the true insolent style, peculiar to John Bull, expressed a regret that more of them had not deserted. As I was going away he tauntingly held up the proclamation, and bid me beware of the consequences. I replied, that I was as well acquainted with my business as he was with his, therefore the caution or threat was unnecessary and misplaced.

As the Lautaro was laying near, I went on board to see Captain Guise, with whom I had become acquainted at Valparaiso. I found him in his cot, recovering from a slight wound received when exchanging shots with the castle. The friendly and polite reception I experienced from this gentleman formed a striking contrast to that from Captain Foster, and presented a remarkable instance of the difference of conduct on the same occasion, of officers of the same grade; one of whom had been reared and educated in polished society, and the other among the low and vulgar. Captain Guise expressed regret, that their present want of men was such, that no influence he could use with Lord Cochrane would be of any avail. In speaking of the proclamation of blockade, I did not fail to express my opinion, that the government of the United States would support me in not considering those ports blockaded before which there was no naval force, and that I had determined to act in conformity with that opinion, which he seemed to consider a correct one.

On returning to the Beaver without the men, I perceived a general manifestation of dislike, among the crew, to go to sea, with so many short of our complement; but there was no possibility of procuring others, and delay would be more likely to change the aspect of affairs for the worse than the better. I therefore called all hands aft; represented to them the easy and short voyage we had to perform; that the numbers now on board were an ample complement for any voyage on this coast; that I had considered we had an extra number, originally taken, in order to make the greater despatch in lading the ship; but that, nevertheless, if they would go to work cheerfully and heave up the anchor, I would engage to divide among them the wages of the five men who had deserted, until I could ship others in their stead. This had the desired effect; they went with alacrity to the windlass, hove up the anchor, made sail, and at four P. M. I was once again on the broad ocean, in the uncontrolled command of the Beaver.

More than two years had elapsed since the seizure of the ship at Talcahuana; and, during that time, I had experienced scarcely any thing but a continued series of vexations, altercations, and the most prolonged, and aggravating state of suspense. The freedom from thraldom, therefore, which I now experienced, was at first difficult to believe, and many days passed away before I possessed an entire consciousness of having regained the power of independent action. We stood off to the southwest, braced sharp to the wind until we had reached the desired latitude, and then tacked to the eastward. As we approached the land we became enveloped in a thick fog, which caused the loss of several hours, while lying to in the hope of its dispersion. At length, it suddenly cleared away, and showed us, that in the endeavour to save time, we had infringed the bounds of prudence. The ship could not have been better placed, even had it been clear; but we had approached the shore nearer than I supposed, being midway between Sangallan and the Chincha Islands, with Pisco right ahead, where we anchored at four P. M., just four days after our departure from Callao.

I immediately went on shore, and was met at the landing by the Subdelegate of Marine, Don Vincente Algorti, and a squad of armed soldiers. On being satisfied of the friendly character of my mission, the soldiers were dismissed, and I was conducted to town by the officer, and introduced by him to the Governor, Gonzales, who, on being satisfied with the legitimacy of my passport, offered me all the aid in his power to facilitate my views. As it was late in the evening before I finished my interview with the Governor, and the surf was so great that I could not return to the ship without getting wet, I accepted the offer of Don Vincente to take a bed at his house; and, as this gentleman had almost the exclusive commerce of the place, it gave me the opportunity of obtaining the requisite information relative to the object of my voyage. He told me, that at this season of the year only a small quantity of brandy and wine were usually procurable; but he thought it probable the quantity I wanted might be obtained, and he would ascertain the next day.

In the mean time it was discovered, that a brig had anchored near Sangallan, which they suspected to be an enemy; and were very desirous that I should reconnoitre. Accordingly I proceeded to the brig, which I found to be the Frederick of Stonington, on a sealing voyage, only four months from the United States. Here I was surprised to be recognised by the mate, who, seventeen years before, had been navigating these remote seas with me in the Lelia Byrd, as seaman. He had pursued the sealing business since, and by his good conduct, and great experience, had been advanced to a mate's berth. The report I made of this vessel, which at the same time was confirmed by the master, in person, tended to relieve the apprehensions of the good people of Pisco.

On the third day after our arrival, I sent off to the ship several launches loaded with brandy; but so much care and adroitness were requisite in taking it on board, and in stowing it afterwards, that, although the stowing was done by experienced stevedores, we made but slow progress. To hoist a fragile jar, containing twenty gallons, up the high sides of a light ship, while rolling in an open roadstead, required the attention of several men to guard it from striking, and great vigilance in the officer to see this duty properly performed; yet, with all our care, many jars were broken.

The feebleness of my ship's company, which was particularly manifested when taking in cargo, the apprehension of desertion, and the impossibility of supplying the loss should any one of them desert, their knowledge of this, and probable presumption, that the indulgences they received might be still farther extended, induced them to attempt carrying into effect a measure, that would have led to the subversion of all discipline, and endangered the safety of the ship and cargo. This was an attempt to bring on board, and hold in their possession, a jar of brandy. I was not on board at the time; but Mr. Pinkham, seeing the man with it, very judiciously endeavoured to persuade him to give it up, promising to serve it out to them in such quantities as should be most useful to them. But this they would not submit to, and swore they would do as they pleased with their own liquor. Perceiving remonstrance to be vain, and aware of the mischief that would result from its being in their possession, Mr. Pinkham very properly knocked the jar out of the fellow's hands, which broke it, and spilled all the brandy. The most abusive language then followed from several; the mutiny became general, and all hands left off work. In the evening, one of the shore boats brought me a note detailing these transactions, and the continued insubordination [illegible] crew. It was too late to go on board that evening; and I had, consequently, time to revolve in my mind the most prudent and judicious mode of proceeding. I was offered a file of soldiers, to take as many as I chose on shore, and have them whipped; but, though this could easily be done, it would only tend to increase the difficulty when we should be out of the reach of this aid. It was obvious, that, to secure any further services from these men, they must be subdued by the efforts of myself and officers alone; and, cost what it might, I determined to try the issue, and to convince them, that there could be but one master to the Beaver. The task was an arduous and a hazardous one, but there was no alternative.

Accordingly, on going on board, and finding my officers ready to second me, — all work on board continuing to be suspended, — we determined, that seizing up the ringleader to the shrouds, and giving him a good whipping before the whole crew, would be the readiest and best way of settling the difficulty; but, if the men made the resistance which was apprehended, the attempt might be attended with serious consequences. Having loaded our pistols, and prepared the requisite seizings, I called the ringleader, by name, to come aft, which he did very readily, and no doubt with the expectation of support from his shipmates. I asked him how he dared to speak to the officer of the ship in the insolent manner he had done? He replied with equal insolence, that the officer had broken his jar of brandy, and he would be damned if he, or any one else, should do any more work on board until it was made up to him. I then turned to the mates, and desired them to seize him up to the rigging. The crew, who had been watching the progress of the business from the forecastle, now began moving aft in a body. I therefore immediately took a pistol in each hand, and, meeting them half way, leisurely laid a rope across the deck, and threatened with instant death any man who should dare to cross it. This had the desired effect. No one had the temerity to try me; and the fellow was whipped until he begged for mercy, and promised never to behave amiss again; and indeed he was ever after, while on board, an orderly, good man. With my pistols still in hand, I then went forward, and peremptorily ordered the men to their duty, on pain of a like punishment to any one who refused. I did not allow them time for consultation; as, calling them by name, I ordered them immediately on various parts of ship's duty. Not one of them saw fit even to hesitate; and they were, ever after, as orderly a crew as I could desire. Having now passed a week at Pisco, and taken on board six hundred jars of brandy and wine, we sailed for Guanchaca, and thus demonstrated, that this part of the coast was not in a state of blockade, in the true and legitimate acceptation of that term.

CHAPTER XVI.

Pisco. — Arrival at Guanchaca. — Alarm at Truxillo. — Unlading and Relading. — Galvarino. — Men detained on Shore. — Suspicion of our good Faith. — Proceed to Malabrigo. — Lose two Anchors. — Proceed to Pacasmayo. — Finish Loading. — Sail for Callao. — Touch at Guacho. — Hear of the Blockade being raised. — Arrival at Callao. — Sketches of Truxillo, Guanchaca, Malabrigo, Pacasmayo. — Satisfaction given the Viceroy. — Discharge the Cargo. — Proceed to Pisco. — Lade with Brandy. — Return to Callao. — Disappearance of the Volador.

PISCO is situated on a sandy plain, about one mile and a half from the sea-shore. It has two churches near the Great Square, one of which was built by the Jesuits. These indicate a degree of prosperity and riches, at the time they were built, which does not now exist. In their decaying and dilapidated state, in that of the private dwellings, and in the commerce, so meagre compared with what it might be, there is continued evidence of the withering effects attendant on the wretched policy, under which this people have so long suffered. The haciendas or farms, in the vicinity of Pisco, are very productive; and their produce, brandy and wine, with which Lima, and the whole coast as far as Panama, is supplied, meets with a ready sale; but the heavy duties on exports from thence, and on the imports at other places, tend greatly to cramp and diminish this commerce.

As the next port of our destination was little more than five degrees to the northward of Pisco, we had a pleasant and easy sail before the wind, and on the third day after our departure, were off the town of Guanchaca, which, owing to a dense fog, we had passed, as we perceived on its clearing away, by discovering the church on the hill to windward of us. We therefore had to pass the day in tacking off and on, to gain the anchorage, which was not effected until sunset.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Truxillo and Guanchaca, who had heard of the blockade of Callao, and had no information of our coming, supposed us to be one of the Chilian squadron, and were thrown into the greatest consternation. All their military force was on the alert all day; and although after coming to anchor I sent (by a couple of Indians) some letters from Lima, to merchants of Truxillo, tending to confirm my report of who we were, these were not sufficient to quiet their alarms. They were on the watch all night, and Truxillo remained in a state of confusion, until I went on shore (the next morning) and exhibited to the Governor the license of the Viceroy.

Immediately on landing, I was provided with a horse, and conducted to Truxillo, by a party of cavalry. Being escorted to the Governor's house, I found him and the Subdelegate of Marine waiting my arrival. Neither of these gentlemen appeared entirely to have recovered from the preceding night's alarm. The Governor, however, did give intimation of returning spirits, in my presence, by a severe reprimand to a respectable looking man, who happened to come in on business. Adverting to the confusion that reigned in the town, the preceding night, he angrily observed to him, that it had appeared as if every man would be Governor, but he would let them know there was but one. Owing to the mail from Lima having been stopped by the freshets which rendered the rivers impassable, we were the bearers of dates ten days later from thence, than they were in possession of, notwithstanding our voyage first to Pisco; consequently, as all information was particularly interesting and acceptable at this time, my visit was prolonged much beyond the time which is usual on a first interview.

Having finally completed it, my next object was to find the merchant to whom I had a letter of introduction, and with whom I expected to transact my business. I found him to be, as he had been represented to me, a modest, unassuming man, and with much decision of character. He at once made me a proposal for my brandy and wine, which appeared to be very fair, offering to pay me in wheat and rice, at the current price. This I promised to take into consideration, and to give an answer next morning. I then sought the family of Lynch, to whom I had a letter of introduction, from one of their connexions in Lima. This is a family of Irish descent, who inherited a very large landed estate in this vicinity. I accepted their invitation to take a bed at their house, and found them a very amiable, good-natured, and pious family of fanatics, their minds entirely subservient to the direction of crafty priests; and their bodies actually suffering from the rigid observance of prescribed fasts. One of them, who had been a merchant, I consulted on the proposal made for my cargo, which he considered to be liberal, and advised my accepting it, which I did, accordingly. As the proceeds of my cargo from Pisco would not be sufficient to lade more than half the ship with wheat and rice, I proposed taking freight, and soon had offered, at a high rate, more than sufficient to complete the lading of the ship.

Having disposed of the cargo, contracted for another, and engaged a person to provide the launches, the launchmen, and the tascaros, or men who take the cargo on their shoulders, and transport it from the launches to the beach, I returned to the ship the third day after leaving her, and immediately set about discharging and receiving cargo at the same time. We soon perceived that the roadstead of Guanchaca was a most uncomfortable place for a ship to lade. The distance at which it was necessary to anchor the ship from the landing, the slow process of loading and unloading the launches through the surf, and the three days, at every full and change of the moon, when the surf was so much increased as to cut off all communication between the ship and the shore, combined to call into requisition our whole stock of patience. We had been industriously engaged about ten days, had delivered about half our cargo, and received on board upwards of a thousand bags of wheat, when the cable parted, and the current setting to leeward, carried us some way from the anchorage, before we perceived ourselves drifting. We had, therefore, no other resource, than to make sail, and stand out to sea so far, as to secure a prospect of reaching our anchorage early in the morning. What rendered this business particularly onerous, was the circumstance, that, at the time of parting the cable, Mr. Pinkham, and half the crew, were ashore on duty.

As we approached the land, next morning, we saw a vessel making directly for us; and which, on coming near, proved to be the Chilian brig of war Galvarino.

It was now evident, that I should soon know if he would act in conformity with the tenor of the proclamation of blockade. Accordingly, when within hail, he inquired, What ship? Answer; The Beaver. Question; What are you doing here, Sir? Answer; Loading with wheat. O, you are, I am glad to hear it; you are a good prize. Answer; Stop until I am fully loaded, and I shall then be a better prize. He then sent his boat, and requested me to come on board with my papers, which I complied with, and was treated with great civility by Captain Spry, with whom I had become acquainted at Valparaiso. After half an hour's conversation, he became convinced that he had better not molest me; he therefore, after endorsing my register, and returning me on board the Beaver, pursued his course, and left me at liberty to pursue mine.

Having thus fairly tested the degree of molestation to be apprehended from the Chilian cruisers, my confidence in the success of my voyage was greatly increased. But the circumstance, that had inspired me with confidence, had entirely annihilated that of the freighters. Having waited a considerable time, after coming to anchor, for the return of the officer and men, who had been left ashore, without seeing any thing of them, I was entirely at a loss how to account for it. But, as it did not occur to me that they could suspect me of treachery, I had no apprehension for my men, and therefore despatched the second mate and four hands to ascertain what had become of the first. These, on landing, were immediately taken into custody of the military, preparatory to being interrogated; and thus was I left, in an open roadstead, without an officer, and with only six men, until the next day, when they were permitted to return. The answer

I gave to Captain Spry, and which they ascertained by interrogating the sailors, was construed into an intent of giving the cargo to the enemy, when the lading should be completed; and was such confirmation of their suspicions, that those who had engaged to freight now declined doing so; and those who had freight on board were desirous of taking it out. As this was out of the question, and as it was evident no more freight could be obtained here, I determined to proceed to Malabrigo, and take on board what I knew to be there ready, on ship's account, and any freight that might offer.

On anchoring at Malabrigo, in the vicinity of which is the town of San Pedro, I had soon a number of applications to freight, and contracted for a considerable quantity, to be taken on board at Pacasmayo. The first freighters having gradually recovered their senses, came to us in the hope of persuading us to return, and fulfil the engagement, which they had broken. But their application was too late, and they were greatly disappointed, when they discovered that having contracted for other freight, sufficient to fill up the ship, it was not in my power to take theirs.

Having broken the stream anchor at Guanchaco, and lost a bower and a kedge at Malabrigo, our only dependence now for completing our lading at Pacasmayo, was on the only remaining bower anchor. This, however, served us; and on the 19th of May, having a cargo on board exceeding in weight thirteen thousand quintals, which brought the ship's chainwales almost even with the water, we sailed for Callao. As I had been able to obtain no information from Callao since I left it, I was very anxious to know the state of affairs before venturing too near. I therefore looked in to Guacho, where perceiving a brig at anchor, with English colors displayed, I sent the boat to obtain information, while the ship was lying to. On returning, I was rejoiced to learn, that the Chilian squadron had left the bay of Callao nearly a month since, and that there was no impediment to entering there. This brig (the Columbia) had been boarded a few days before by the Macedonian frigate, Captain Downes, who inquired if he had seen the Beaver. Having run along shore to the northward, while the Beaver was standing out to sea, to the southwestward, we missed seeing each other, to my great regret, as I had no doubt there were letters on board from my family; and had been anticipating their receipt, with all those feelings of hope and anxiety, so easily conceived by those who love their homes, and who have had no tidings for so long a period.

We now made sail on the Beaver, and, at the expiration of two days, were, early in the morning of the 9th of June, at the entrance of the bay of Callao, with light airs off shore. At ten o'clock, we perceived a large and a small vessel coming out of the bay, under a crowd of sail, and steering directly for us. On coming up, they proved to be the Esmeralda frigate and Pezuela brig of war, sent out to ascertain who we were. Satisfied on this point, we returned into port together, and came to anchor nearly at the same time.

Of the places I had visited, Guanchaca is nothing else than a collection of wigwams or Indian huts, built of mud, mats, and bamboo; and of a description that would be untenable in a country subject to an ordinary course of rainy weather. In the season for taking the sea-baths it is the resort of the people of Truxillo, as Callao is for the people of Lima, at the same season. It contains about five hundred inhabitants, all Indians, excepting the Curate, who is of European descent, and who appears to possess the address of keeping them not less in the fear of himself, than in the fear of God.

Truxillo is two leagues southeast from this village, and on the road to it we passed the ruins of a very large Indian city, which was the summer resort, or Baiæ, of the celebrated chief Atahualpa. From the ruins of this ancient city, a great amount of gold has, within a few years, been dug; and also a great number of earthen vessels, of various forms, called by the Spaniards *guaqueros*, and which afford evide[illegible] a degree of perfection in the manufacture of pottery, which the present race of Indians do not possess. The land immediately in the vicinity of the sea, presents a most sterile and forbidding appearance; scarce a tree, a shrub, or any verdure to be seen; but a few leagues in the interior there is the most luxuriant vegetation.

Truxillo is a very ancient city, having been founded by that celebrated devastator of the Indian race, Pizarro, in the year [illegible]. It is situated in the valley of Chimo, on a very sandy soil, is surrounded by a brick wall, is regularly built, (the streets intersecting each other at right angles,) and is, in fact, Lima in miniature. The inhabitants of this city consist of Spaniards, Indians, and the various grades and shades peculiar to a population of European and Indian, and amount together to about ten thousand. It formerly enjoyed a lucrative commerce with Porto Bello and Carthagena, by the way of Santa Fé and Quito; and to this, it was indebted for its elevation and consequence, as it is to the loss of it, for its present poor, dull, and gloomy state.

The estates in its neighbourhood might be made very productive in wheat, rice, and sugar, if there was any encouragement given to agriculture; but while the cultivator has no other prospect before him, than that of seeing his produce rot on his hands, he will naturally be cautious to cultivate no more than is sufficient for his own consumption. Not less productive might the estates be, which are situated in the mountains, for rearing cattle and sheep, if there existed any encouragement. As an instance, the family of Lynch, already mentioned, possess an estate on which are maintained [illegible] thousand sheep, which produce wool of a very tolerable quality, but, owing to there being no export for it, much is wasted; and what is sold produces only two dollars the arroba; so that the estate, which, if commerce was encouraged, would yield a princely revenue, barely suffices for the maintenance of their family in a very economical style of living.

If I was struck with the attention given to the affairs of religion at Lima, much more was this the case at Truxillo; for this as much surpasses the other in private, as well as public devotional observances, as the former appeared to me to exceed every other place I had ever before visited. Indeed, the priests may truly be said to live in clover at Truxillo; the whole business of the city is so entirely religion, that it may very properly be viewed as a great cloister. It often occurs, that many of the class called merchants, and probably others, are invisible at the ordinary hours of business; and on inquiry as to the cause, it appears that they are at their devotions, in which they must not be disturbed.

Some families are said to spend eight hours of the day in prayer. All this show of sanctity would be very laudable, if it made them better, or more honest men; but it has a tendency to put me more on my guard.

Although others would have given me from ten to fifteen per cent more for my cargo, and would have sold wheat for as much less, yet I preferred contracting with the man to whom I was recommended, for a small advantage, rather than with any other of this pious community, for a great one. But all my caution was, unfortunately, of no avail. One of these inveterate praying men, who was engaged by my correspondent to receive and deliver the cargo, and to supply the ship, made such enormous charges, and was guilty of such frauds, that I refused to settle his account; and it was left to arbitration at Lima, the result of which, I have never known, further than that I never received any return of the amount I left wherewith to pay the award.

Malabrigo is, as the name indicates, a bad shelter, and is important only to the cultivators of the valley of Chacama, for the shipment of their produce. Pacasmayo is only a collection of a few Indian huts, near to a river of that name, and is the place of embarkation of San Pedro, which is distant from it about two leagues, over a very sandy road; some of the hills of which resemble very high snow-drifts. San Pedro, excepting its church, and the residences of half a dozen European families, is little better than a collection of wigwams. The curate, as in all such villages, is omnipotent; and for a poor Indian, within the jurisdiction of his curacy, to kill a calf, a hog, or a sheep, without sending him a portion, would be considered a sin, requiring more prompt atonement, than that of the transgression of any rule of the Decalogue. The inhabitants, with the above exception, are Creoles and Indians. Some families of the former have acquired fortunes, in defiance of the obstacles presented by the bad policy of the government. The jealousy which exists between these and the Europeans, is not less than that which formerly prevailed at St. Domingo, between the whites and mulattoes. Hence the Creoles were perceived to be ardent friends of the revolution, and are less reserved in evincing this disposition than any other people on this coast, whom I have visited. To promote these views, and add to their stock of political knowledge, I gave them a large file of Chili gazettes, which was a most acceptable present to them.

Our safe return to Callao, with so large a cargo of wheat and rice, was an event no less auspicious for the people of Lima, than for ourselves. Precisely three months had elapsed since our departure from Callao; and, by the successful accomplishment of our voyage, we had demonstrated to the Viceroy, that he had no cause to apprehend the supply of bread-stuff's being cut off by means of a Chilian blockade; at the same time, we had inspired a confidence in our good faith which was before greatly wanting. The earnings of the ship during this period exceeded twenty thousand dollars, payable immediately on landing the cargo. My reception by the Viceroy was of the most flattering description. He appeared now, for the first time, to be aware of the great advantage derivable from neutral commerce; complimented me on the boldness manifested in disregarding Lord Cochrane's proclamation of blockade, and declared his readiness now to give me a license to go to any part of the coast I pleased.

I had now as many men at work in unlading the ship as could be advantageously employed, as it was important to lose no time before being away again. In the mean time, canvassing several plans for the next operation, the most eligible appeared to me to be that of introducing a cargo of brandy into Lima before the renewal of the blockade, presuming that immediately after that event, it would rise greatly in value. This being determined on, an express was sent off to Pisco to buy the brandy, and have it ready for the ship as soon as she should arrive. Having accomplished unlading and ballasting the ship, we sailed again for Pisco, on the 25th of June, and arrived there on the 1st day of July. Here we found every thing in readiness for lading the ship in as short a time as possible, and having taken on board four thousand jars of brandy, and a deck-load of wheat, we sailed from Pisco on the evening of the 30th of July, and on the 1st of August again entered, unmolested, the port of Callao.

The Captain of the port, on making his accustomed visit on our arrival, desired me not to go on shore until permission was obtained first from Lima. As this seemed to me a regulation for foreigners, which the Viceroy could not intend to apply to those who were engaged coastwise, I told him I should not comply with it. He then said he should put me under arrest, if I came on shore before obtaining the requisite permission. Accordingly, as soon as I had breakfasted, the boat was manned, and we rowed to the landing guarded by the sentry, who called out to us to keep off; but, simultaneously with the order, I had landed and sent my boat away.

The sentry then arrested and conducted me within the walls of the castle. It was soon rumored, that the Captain of the Beaver was in the castle of Callao, and several officers of the navy came to see me, kindly proposing to obtain leave for me to go on board my ship; and inviting me to go and dine with them; but I declined leaving the castle until an order should come for my release, from the Viceroy. This order was given as soon as my arrest was known to him, and I was released, after having passed nearly the whole day in the castle. The effect was what I intended and expected it would be, — a general order for all masters of foreign vessels, sailing coastwise, with the Viceroy's license, to be permitted to go on shore, and if desired, to proceed to Lima, without waiting for a special permission.

A circumstance which occurred on this voyage, demonstrates the extreme credulity of this people, not less than the ideas they entertain of our morality and humanity. A Spanish brig, called the Volador, and owned in Lima, had been loading at Pisco with brandy and wheat, at the same time with the Beaver. This brig having accomplished her lading, and having several passengers on board, sailed for Callao, about four hours before us. At sunset of the day of departure, we perceived, that we were coming up fast with her, and supposed we passed her in the night. The following night we anchored at Callao, and the next day were momentarily expecting the arrival of the Volador, as eight or ten hours, at the most, ought to be the only difference in our passages; but she did not arrive that day. Another, and yet another day passed, and no appearance of the Volador. The owner, and those who had friends on board, had now become very justly alarmed, and my replies to their earnest inquiries, as to when we last saw her? or what I supposed could have become of her? had no tendency to lessen them. Her disappearance was enveloped in a mystery, which has never been unravelled. There was not known, or believed to be, any cruiser near, by which she might have been captured, the weather had been very fine, the sea very smooth. Had she foundered? had she taken fire and burnt up? In either of these events it would be strange, that not one individual should be saved in so pacific a sea, and still more strange, that not a boat, a spar, an oar, no trace of any thing belonging to this vessel, should ever have been discovered; yet such was the fact, and to this day, I believe, it has never been known what became of her.

CHAPTER XVII.

Suspected of sinking the Volador. — Crew of the Beaver examined. — Sell the Cargo. — Charter the Ship. — Sail for Guacho. — Arrival of the Chilian Fleet. — Guacho and its Manufactures. — Sail for La Barranca. — Stupid Pilot. — Return to Guacho. — Sail for Samanco Bay. — Observations thereon. — Bad Calculation of the Charterer. — Commandante and his Daughters. — Arrival at Pacasmayo — Sail for Chili. — Boarded by the San Martin. — Arrival at Valparaiso.

After arriving at Callao from Pisco, having no immediate business at Lima, I remained on board ship a fortnight, while the cargo was discharging. When this was accomplished I went to the city. On walking out soon after being set down at my lodgings, I perceived myself to be an object of unusual attention; and heard the remarks, "There he goes," — "That 's the fellow;" and saw people pointing at me. Passing by the shop of an acquaintance, he expressed surprise at my release from the castle of Callao, if the rumors relating to me were true. On my asking an explanation, he told me the report was current, and generally believed, that I had run down the Volador, and drowned the crew and passengers; that I had been incarcerated for it in the castle; and that the people were astonished to see me at liberty and walking the streets of Lima.

It appeared, that a number of circumstances, trifling in themselves, had combined to favor this idea, in a populace jealous of strangers, and generally very ignorant. Among them, my having remained a fortnight at Callao after arriving; my being arrested by a sentry, and conducted to the castle; my having remained there, as was supposed, while actually on board ship; and the circumstance, of their entertaining none too good opinion of me to doubt my readiness to destroy a vessel and crew in revenge for the ill treatment I had received in the country, were sufficient materials wherewith to fabricate the story which was in circulation in the city.

It was now obvious, that my personal safety required that some immediate and efficacious measures should be adopted to undeceive the populace; as I perceived the story to be believed, not by the mob alone, but by persons who ought to have known better. I therefore waited on the Viceroy for this purpose, and requested that an investigation might be made into this business by his order. He had heard of such report, and ridiculed it; nevertheless, he thought my safety would be better secured by an inquiry. Accordingly, three officers of the Royal navy were appointed to examine as many of the Beaver's crew, touching this business, as they saw proper. It happened, fortunately, that among my seamen was a Spaniard belonging to Lima, and this man's testimony, corroborating that of the others, was of great importance. They were not long in coming to a favorable result, exonerating me from all blame or participation in the loss; and this decision was sent to the Viceroy, who caused it to be generally known. After this, no doubt existed in the minds of the respectable part of the community of my innocence; but the unfavorable impression was never entirely obliterated with the lower class.

I had contemplated landing only one half the cargo at Callao, and proceeding down the coast with the other half, which would produce enough to lade the ship with wheat; but, having ascertained that a supply had already been sent there, I concluded to give up this plan, and negotiated with a house in Lima to take the whole cargo, at a profit of about ten thousand dollars. It had been observed, that, latterly, much brandy had been delivered from the pumps; and we were prepared to find great breakage, although there had been no rough weather to produce it. But it was evident, that the weight was too great, and that, by it, many of the lower jars had been crushed. On completing the unlading, we found that one hundred and fifty jars had been broken; notwithstanding which, the operation proved to be a very productive one.

It was now evident, from the accounts from Valparaiso, that much time would not elapse before the reappearance of the Chilian fleet, and the renewal of the blockade. The great importance of being away, therefore, before this event, was obvious; and any delay, in deciding what course to pursue, might be attended with increased loss of time, if nothing worse. Although the exposed situation in which a ship lies at Guanchaca and Pacasmayo, and the tedious process of conveying the cargo through the surf to the launches, on the shoulders of men, cause the lading of a ship at these places to be a very laborious and tedious undertaking, yet the freight to be earned was in due proportion to this trouble; and, perceiving nothing that presented so fair a prospect, I determined on pursuing it, and immediately despatched an express to those places, to have a cargo prepared against my arrival there.

This measure had scarcely been taken, when I had a proposal for the charter of the ship, which offered advantages so much greater than the other, that I immediately closed with it, and sent off a second express to countermand the first order. This charter stipulated for the ship to proceed to three ports to leeward, and there lade with the produce of the country, and proceed with it to Valparaiso; there deliver it, and relade with wheat for Callao. For the performance of this service, I was to receive forty thousand dollars, limited to be performed in four months; and if, from any cause on the part of the charterer, that time was exceeded, he was to pay at the rate of six thousand dollars per month. In addition to the certainty, which this contract presented, was the great additional security resulting from its being for English account; as the commanders and officers of the Chilian fleet were almost exclusively English, and they had given the most unequivocal evidence of a disposition to view, with indulgence, the same transaction under their native flag, which was denounced as confiscation under the American.

Having agreed with the charterer, that the ship should be despatched without delay, it being even more for his interest than mine that no time should be lost, and the blockade being momentarily expected, my impatience became so great, when the month of September was approaching its close, that it was agreed I should proceed to Guacho, and there wait for him to join the ship. Accordingly, late in the afternoon of the 28th of September, we sailed from Callao; and, at sunset, as we were passing the Pescadores, on the north side of the bay, we saw the Isabella, Lord Cochrane's ship, entering near San Lorenzo, on the south side. This was, indeed, a fortunate escape; as a delay of only an hour would have closed the door upon us. The Pallas, an American brig, which sailed with us, bound to windward, was detained, and sent to Valparaiso.

The day after leaving Callao, we anchored at Guacho, and in the evening a squad of soldiers were sent to the beach, intended for the two-fold advantage of protecting the ship, and preventing smuggling; but they had no boat to bring them on board, and kept blowing horns and hallooing for ours, till they were satisfied we should not send for them, and they then marched back again to their quarters. We found, on our arrival, a quantity of sugar ready to be taken on board; but with the bad management, evinced from the day of the contract, no license had been provided for embarking it, and another week was lost before it was received from Lima. As soon as the license was received, the sugar was embarked, and we sailed for La Barranca, to take on board a quantity which was there ready for delivery.

Guacho is a small village, principally of Indians, whose employment is almost exclusively making straw hats and cigar-cases; in which manufacture they have arrived at a degree of skill, so much surpassing all others, that their cigar-cases, of the finest quality, are often sold for a doubloon, and their hats are proportionally prized. As La Barranca is an obscure place, where, probably, the American flag had never before been displayed, that no time might be lost, I, for the first time since navigating the coast, took a pilot; but I had better been without him, as, in the true bungling style of his countrymen, he brought the ship to, at least a mile further off than was requisite. Having dismissed him, and taken soundings of the harbour, we perceived also, by the breaking of our bower anchor, on heaving up, that he had anchored us on foul ground. We ran in to about half a mile from the beach, whence our cargo was to be taken, and anchored again in a snug harbour, which is at an equal distance from La Barranca and Supe, and serves as the port of embarcation for each.

The lading of cargo, at this place, occupied about a week, at which time, having received a letter from the charterer, dated at Lima, without stating when he should leave there on his way to join the ship, I became very impatient; and, with a view of saving time, by lessening the distance between us, returned again to Guacho, and informed him of this movement by an express. Day after day passed away, while we were lying idle at this place. At length, on the 25th of October, he arrived in a small vessel, laden with cocoa, indigo, his baggage, &c. The policy of such solicitude and such impatience, on my part, at our slow progress, while the earnings of the ship were so great, may not be perceived; but the inference was clear, that the person who managed his own affairs so badly, could not so well be confided in for the fulfilment of his engagements to others; and hence my dissatisfaction was manifested, occasionally, in terms less mild and conciliating than was becoming. The arrival of the English brig Catalina, destined to lade with sugar for Valparaiso, and the information received by her, that the English ship Inspector had gone to Canete for a like purpose, and for the same destination, tended greatly to diminish the prospect of advantage, which was promised at the early stage of the enterprise.

The cargo of the little vessel having been taken on board the Beaver, with all possible despatch, we sailed, on the evening of the same day, for Samanco Bay. The second day after leaving Guacho, we anchored in a bay in latitude 9° 17′, which I supposed to be Samanco Bay, but, as we could discover nothing of the river Huambacho, I presumed that we were mistaken. I therefore despatched a boat, early in the morning, to the northern extremity of this bay to look for the river in question. At noon the boat returned, and the officer reported, that the bay and river were about five miles to the north of us. Immediately, therefore, we weighed anchor, and, proceeding to this bay, came to anchor again in a snug cove near the river Huambacho.

The ship was no sooner anchored, than several horsemen made their appearance on the beach. The charterer went immediately to them and ascertained, that they were the persons charged with the delivery of the cotton, which was to be taken on board, and which, instead of being already prepared for us, it appeared would not be ready for several weeks. If there had been no prospect of competition at Valparaiso, the expense of the ship alone ought to have discouraged the idea of waiting; and the two circumstances combined, should have left no hesitation in the decision to leave the cotton and pursue the voyage; but a strange infatuation seemed to blind the charterer to the ruinous consequences of delay. For eight hundred quintals of cotton, value five thousand and six hundred dollars, the ship was detained a fortnight, at a certain expense of three thousand dollars, and the difference in the value of the sugar at Valparaiso, if the other vessels should arrive there before us, would probably not be less than thirty thousand dollars; but with obstinacy and stupidity it was in vain to contend, and, in the annihilation of any prospect of advantage on my own adventure, I had only to be resigned. At length, after the expiration of a fortnight, the cotton had been taken on board, and we were on our way to Pacasmayo, the last port of our destination on this coast.

The advantages, which Samanco Bay would afford to a hostile squadron in these seas are great; until forces could be collected from a distance, they might lie here with all the security, that they would have in their own harbours. The facilities, which the river Huambacho offers for wooding and watering are great, as the boats can enter and lade without any difficulty. The town of Nepios being six leagues distant, it might be difficult to procure cattle and domestic animals, but the bay abounds with fish, fowl, and seal. The latitude of this bay is 9° 12′. Immediately to the southward of it is a fine bay, where we first anchored; and next, northward, is the very spacious Bay of Ferrol, affording a harbour equally safe, and the prospect of supplies from an Indian village on its northern shore.

As the Beaver was doubtless the first foreign ship, that ever had a Royal license for trading coastwise, as she was a remarkably fine ship, had beautiful accommodations, and was always kept in the neatest order, her fame along the coast was very great. And, at all these small places, she was thronged with visiters, men, women, and children, who came from many miles distant to see the ship, and who always expressed themselves delighted with (what they considered) the beauty of the cabin and its furniture, the whiteness of the deck, and the attention to cleanliness in every part. The Commandante of La Barranca and his three very pretty daughters, from eighteen to twenty-four years old, happened to be on board, one day, at our dinner hour, and I invited them to sit down with us. Their awkward mode of handling the table utensils was evidence, that, although they were people of the first respectability, they were accustomed to live in very primitive style, being evidently entirely unaccustomed to the refinements of such superfluous articles as plates, knives and forks. They endeavoured, however, to do as we did; the father and one of the daughters succeeded tolerably well, but the other two girls seemed to consider a plate, knife, and fork, for each, to be needless. They therefore placed a plate between them, and, one of them taking the knife and the other the fork, they endeavoured, the one to cut, while the other held the meat with the fork. But this mode of proceeding did not succeed; the beef was too hard, or the knife was too dull, or there was a want of adroitness, and they were finally compelled to accept the aid of their next neighbour, which they did with great complacency, — being all the time in high glee at this novel mode of taking their food. The Commandante was very desirous of returning our civility, by giving us a dinner at his house, but the duties of the ship would not allow our absence for a day, and we declined the honor, although the young ladies earnestly seconded the invitation. They left us, as did all our visitors, with manifestations of pleasure and gratification.

Arriving at Pacasmayo, I was very agreeably disappointed in finding all the cargo at the shore, ready to be taken on board, and a fair prospect of meeting with no detention at this disagreeable anchorage. With great exertions the last of the cargo was received on board, at the expiration of a week from the time of our arrival, and on Sunday, the 21st of November, we sailed for Valparaiso. Thus, on the day of departure from the Peruvian coast, were expended nearly three months of the four, for which the ship was chartered. But there was a satisfaction in being under way, and in the consciousness that the business must progress, which I had not experienced since entering into the contract.

While pursuing our voyage to Valparaiso, and in the latitude of 22° and longitude 91° west, we fell in with the Chilian ship of war, San Martin, of sixty-four guns, bearing Admiral Blanco's flag. As he approached he fired to bring us to. His boat with a lieutenant then boarded us, and requested me to go on board with my papers. This I declined, and sent them by Mr. Pinkham, with my compliments to the Admiral, and saying, that I never left my ship at sea except by compulsion. The boat soon returned, bringing Mr. Pinkham and a request, that the charterer would go on board and produce the required proof of the property being as stated. This he did to the satisfaction of the Admiral, who, he said, made no hesitation in declaring, that if the ship had been laden for any other than English account, he should have sent her in for adjudication. To this circumstance, therefore, were we indebted for being allowed to pass without molestation. Passing in sight of the islands Massafuero and Juan Fernandez, we arrived in safety at Valparaiso, after a remarkably pleasant passage of twenty-five days.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Competition at Valparaiso. — Purchase the Ship Ocean. — Sail for Lima. — Arrival. — Completion of the Charter. — Drottingen and Ocean sail for Guayaquil. — Zephyr for Pacasmayo — Beaver for Guayaquil. — Sketch of Lima. — Arrival at Payta. — Observations. — Arrival at Guayaquil. — Controversy with the Governor. — [illegible] the Ships. — Sail for Callao. — Arrival there. — Governor of Guayaquil superseded. — Sketch of Guayaquil.

THE great loss which I anticipated from our tardy progress in lading the ship, was unfortunately but too surely experienced. The day after we had anchored, the Catalina, which we had left loading at Guacho, arrived, and, before we had begun to unlade, the Inspector also arrived, with a full cargo of sugar. The arrival of three cargoes of sugar at the same time, had an immediate tendency to depress the market; and the cargo of the Beaver, which, but for those two arrivals, would have brought from ten dollars and a half to eleven dollars per *arroba*, was with difficulty sold for seven dollars seventy-five cents; making a difference of from twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars to the charterer, and five or six thousand on my private adventure.

As I had received no account of the consignment per the Livonia, although twelve months had elapsed, I lost no time in calling on the house for an explanation; and had sufficient evidence, that no account would ever have been rendered if I had not demanded it in person. The notoriety of the embarrassed situation of their affairs, led me to be very apprehensive of difficulty in getting my property out of their hands. There was evidently no other chance of success than to take wheat and other produce of the country, which they had in store. To accomplish this, it would be necessary to buy or to charter a ship. I therefore purchased the ship Ocean, of three hundred and sixty-five tons burden, and received a cargo of wheat for her, from the house. This ship and cargo were one half on my own account, and the other on that of a Spaniard at Lima, who had been one of the principal freighters in the Livonia.

Not doubting that I should be able to employ neutral ships advantageously at Lima, I purchased one half of the ship Zephyr of Providence, of three hundred and sixty tons burden, and chartered the Swedish ship Drottingen of four hundred tons. The quantity of wheat which had already been shipped for the market of Lima, was such as to offer no prospect of profit on other shipments, and my object in putting any on board these vessels was only to secure an entry. The account sales of my adventure by the Livonia, fell far short of my expectations; and indeed, produced one third less than other shipments to other consignees by the same vessel. This was in part accounted for, by the duties being all charged as cash, when one half was paid in government paper, which was then at a great discount. This I caused to be refunded; and although I had been cheated in the weight and otherwise, the adventure yielded a handsome profit.

Having completed lading the Beaver with wheat, in bulk, and the charterer being ready, on the 21st of

January, 1820, we sailed from Valparaiso; and after a pleasant passage of twelve days, anchored once more at Callao. The Ocean had arrived some days before, and was unlading. The Zephyr and Drottingen arrived a few days after the Beaver, and I had now the four ships discharging at the same time. The circumstance of making such a show of business, excited no less surprise at Lima, than it had done at Valparaiso; yet it was at the latter place only, where commerce is declared free, that I was subjected to impertinent interrogatories relative to my business, by that profound blockhead De la Cruz, the Governor; a very different character from the one of the same name, who was so distinguished in the wars of Peru.

The successful accomplishment of my charter to Valparaiso, and back, combined with the product of my anterior freights, now gave me the control of an amount of property which could not fail to justify me in determining to lade for home; in addition to which, the state of the ship evinced but too clearly, that the period had arrived when the enterprise ought to be brought to a close; cables, rigging, sails, boats, every thing was so much worn, as to be barely sufficient to serve the passage home; and a renewal of them in this country would be attended with great expense. Duty, therefore, independently of inclination, pointed out this, as the course which ought to be pursued. While, therefore, the ship was discharging, I made a contract for a cargo of cocoa, to be delivered on board at Guayaquil, and obtained the Viceroy's license for the same; and was otherwise busily engaged in the settlement of my business, preparatory to taking a final leave of Lima. For the Ocean, I obtained a freight from Guayaquil to return to Callao, and despatched her as soon as unloaded. For the Zephyr, I procured an advantageous freight from Guanchaca and Pacasmayo, and despatched her on the 1st of March. Funds being offered me on *respondentia* sufficient to lade the Drottingen, I contracted for a cargo deliverable at Guayaquil, on the same terms as the Beaver's; and laded her at Guayaquil entirely on my own account, whence she proceeded to Gibraltar. The charterer of the Beaver having resigned any further claim on the ship, after completing her unlading, (the 19th of February,) she was again at my disposal.

The term, for which my crew had shipped, being now also expired, I had to pay them off and ship a new one. A disagreeable job in any country, but a very difficult one at this place; nevertheless, I succeeded, principally by re-shipping the old crew. Having employed Spaniards to ballast the ship, I could have been off on the 1st of March, but for a difficulty at the custom-house. This arose from a regulation, that no ship could obtain a clearance, the duties on whose inward cargo were unpaid; a regulation that placed me completely at the mercy of the charterer, as no bonds would be taken. It was, therefore, the 12th of March, before this arrangement could be made, and the clearance obtained, when we bade farewell to our Lima acquaintance, and the next day sailed for Guayaquil.

Nearly two years had now elapsed, since my first arrival at Lima, and during that period, I had never witnessed a shower of rain, a flash of lightning, or a peal of thunder; but there are very heavy dews amounting to Scotch mists, for half the year, during which time the sun is seldom seen; the weather, therefore, is gloomy; the dampness so great, that every thing susceptible of it becomes rusty; and the streets become so dirty and slippery as to make it very unpleasant for the pedestrian. There were several shocks of earthquakes, which always created alarm, but none that caused any damage while I was there. They are observed to be less violent where wells are common. The market of Lima is always well supplied with beef, mutton, poultry, and fish, at the seasons peculiar to each; with vegetables and fruit all the year round. In variety and excellence, the fruits surpass those of any other country I have ever visited. Peaches, apricots, plumbs, grapes, apples, pears, pines, guavas, bananas, strawberries, and oranges, are abundant in their seasons; but that which is justly the highest prized, and in my opinion is the most delicious fruit in the world, is the *cherri mouia*, a description of which has been given already by so many travellers, as to make it superfluous here.

As the ladies of Lima are famed for their passion for flowers, and pay liberally for such as are superior, the market is generally well supplied; but on Sundays and holydays there is such a brilliant display of rich and beautiful colors, such an infinite variety and form, all in such perfection, and displayed with so much taste, that few can pass them without paying a voluntary tribute. So many and correct descriptions of Lima have been of late years published, as to make it unnecessary to say any thing on the subject here. I shall, therefore, make only some desultory remarks on objects which came immediately within my observation.

A stranger is struck, on passing through the streets of Lima for the first time, by the great number of people in the sacerdotal garb; evincing that the affairs of the church are in no degree less engrossing here, than in other Catholic countries. But a moderate degree of experience and observation is sufficient to induce the belief, that the moral and religious advantages which the people derive, bear no proportion to the multiplicity of teachers; on the contrary, the inverse ratio would be nearer the correct one. Nor are the remarks of Robertson the historian, less applicable to the existing generation, than to that of which he wrote, when he says, "Many of the regular clergy are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth, where the reality is wanting." I have seen no people, who appeared to be so devoted to religious affairs, and none where every rule of the Decalogue is so generally disregarded.

That the ambition and passions of men are not annihilated, or even mitigated, by the sanctity and seclusion of the cloister, was proved by an instance no less ludicrous than melancholy, while I was at Lima. The fraternity of Augustine monks lost their Superior by death. In the choice of a successor the brotherhood were divided, and so equally, and each party so obstinately bent on not yielding to the other, that they at length came to blows; and in the sanctuary where love, peace, and harmony are supposed to dwell, were raging such discord and horrid war, that it was only by the aid of a military force sent there by the Viceroy, that peace and order were once more restored to these turbulent sons of the church.

The ridiculous pride, which prevents the descendant of Europeans from pursuing any of the mechanic arts, has left to a vast body of the "well-born," the choice only of the sword or gown, employments for which many had neither talents nor inclination. Hence a total absence of science and skill in the military, and hence the licentiousness and ignorance of the clergy, of whom the historian before quoted observes, that, "notwithstanding many of the members of the clergy enjoy the ease and independence which are favorable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations."

Neither the public amusements, nor the private and select society of Lima, were equal to my expectations, founded on the consideration of its age, population, opulence, and the long state of tranquillity it has enjoyed. The theatre is capacious and of tolerably good aspect within; but the performances are bad, and the house, for the most part, poorly attended; the one probably a consequence of the other. At the circus, where the bull-fights are exhibited, there is evidence given of its continuing to be the favorite amusement of the people, as the boxes and seats are invariably crowded; the most respectable part of the female world, however, (to their credit,) are generally absent. These, with an occasional procession, a military review, and the ride in the paseo, on Sundays and holydays, constitute all the public amusements.

The Limeans appear to possess all that dread of being alone, which is the peculiarity of an idle people, and therefore never miss meeting in the evening at each others' houses, where they have recourse to the universal custom of cards; in the games of which their children are initiated at a very early age. The ladies of Lima possess no ordinary share of personal attraction; but, excepting the common acquirements of music and dancing, they are as uncultivated as their last imported slaves. Indeed, as respects society, Lima affords none to the man of literature, for literature is not cultivated; none to the politician, for politics must not be meddled with; none to enterprising merchants, for enterprise is proscribed; none to teachers of political economy, for political economy is a science totally unknown; none to the promoters of industry, for industry is discouraged. In fine, those who can make up their minds to live in a state of passive obedience and non-resistance to the governing powers, and take care not to offend the clergy, may lead lives as peaceable, easy, and quiet, as they must necessarily be stupid and worthless.

On our way to Guayaquil, we anchored at the little town of Payti; a place indebted for some fame to the circumstance of its having been sacked by Lord Anson; and latterly, by that accomplished buccanier, Lord Cochrane. To view this miserable looking little town, and the apparently extreme poverty of the inhabitants, one would suppose, that *British magnanimity* would not only have spared it, but that, in opposition to the common practices of war, *British generosity* would have tried to alleviate it. In both instances, however, the houses of the unfortunate inhabitants were stripped of every thing, not excepting such articles even as were of no use to the ravagers. The former instance is on record, as an evidence of *British glory*, the latter is destined to imperishable renown, as forming an enviable epoch in the Chilian annals.

Pursuing our destination, we arrived and came to anchor, on the 23d instant, near the town of Puna, at the north end of the Island of that name. Here a pilot came on board to take the ship to Guayaquil, for which we had a leading breeze. When abreast of the fort we were hailed, and ordered to come to anchor, and send a boat ashore with the passport. The boat having been already prepared, was immediately on her way, and the pilot was extremely anxious to obey the summons of coming to anchor; but having a leading breeze, I would not consent to it. He then placed himself so as to have the mainmast as a shield against the expected shot; none, however, was fired at us, and we anchored off the town of Guayaquil on the evening of the 25th of March.

I had the mortification to find the Ocean under seizure, on pretext of irregularity of papers; and the Drottingen lying idle, in consequence of a prohibition to lade till the agent would engage to pay an additional export duty, exacted by the Governor. Under such circumstances my first interview with the Governor was not of a description to prepossess either in favor of the other. I presented him my license from the Viceroy, which he admitted to be correct, and said that we might begin to lade as soon as we pleased. I then explained to him why the Ocean's documents were imperfect; and observed, she was navigating conformably to the laws of the United States, and would be protected by any of our vessels of war; nor could I see how he could be justified in detaining a vessel, whose papers were so satisfactory to the Viceroy, as to induce him to grant her the requisite license to load. But it was useless and unavailing to reason with a man, in whose detestation of foreigners and heretics all our embarrassments were founded, and on his refusal to permit the ship to lade or to go away in ballast, I requested him to make a prize of her, and to treat the Captain and crew as prisoners of war. At this his wrath was kindled, and in an angry and vehement tone and manner, he told me, that he had had much difficulty to prevent the populace taking possession of the ship as insurgent property, and likewise, from putting me to death for having run down the Volador. In a tone and manner somewhat contemptuous, I asked him how it was possible, that a man who was considered worthy of so respectable a command as that of Governor of Guayaquil, could repeat so ridiculous a story, and abruptly left him.

It was now evident, that no more time should be lost in resisting the Governor's exaction, but that we must pay it, lade the ships as fast as possible, and return again to Lima, for redress. In the mean time, I wrote to Lima by the mail, complaining of the conduct of the Governor, and made known my determination to return there, in order that such steps might be taken before my arrival, as should cause the least possible detention. With these views, the lading of both ships being accomplished at the same time, we dropped down to Puna on the 18th of April, sailed together on the 20th, and parted company on the following night, — the Drottingen bound to Gibraltar, the Beaver to Callao. Arriving at Callao on the 16th of May, we found that we had not been alone in urging complaints against the Governor of Guayaquil; but, that the inhabitants, in addition, had done it so effectually, that an officer had been appointed by the Viceroy to supersede him, and had already sailed in the Prueba frigate, for that purpose. By a letter from the master of the Ocean, I was informed, that when the Governor ascertained that we had gone to Lima, instead of the United States, as he imagined, he was much alarmed and vexed, and that he had not sufficient address to conceal it.

Guayaquil is situated on a river of the same name, and about fifty miles from the sea. At a narrow pass of the river, about five leagues below the town, called Punta de Piedra, is the fort intended for its protection against hostile shipping; but it is not strong enough to insure successful resistance against a serious attack. Although this town is situated only two degrees south of the equator, and on low, marshy ground, its contiguity to a high chain of mountains renders the climate healthy; among them is occasionally seen from the town the famed Chimborazo, whose summit, towering far above the clouds, appears to belong to some other world. For the greater part of the year the climate is said to be agreeable, but during my visit (March and April) the heat was exceedingly oppressive. The mosquitos, at the same time, were so numerous and annoying, as to compel me to take up my lodgings on shore, and my sailors to sleep in the tops of the ship. The houses are built entirely of wood, and in an agreeable style, adapted to the climate. The upper stories being most airy, and most free from mosquitos, are occupied by the family, while the lower story is destined for the domestics. The churches, convents, and custom-house are wooden buildings, remarkable neither for size nor beauty. The part of the town fronting on the river makes a pretty appearance; but this, as well as the other parts, are kept so intolerably dirty, that nothing but positive training to filthiness saves the people from epidemics, and the other deleterious effects of such climates. The women of this city are so celebrated for beauty as to be termed the Circassians of Peru; whether deservedly so or not I am not able to say, as the heat prevented their walking out in the day time, and my hurry of business prevented my engaging in the society of the place. The buccaniers, however, who took the town in the year 1687, speak in the most exalted terms of the beauty and amiability of those, who were the great-great-grandmothers of the present generation, and it is natural to infer, and desirable to suppose, that the race has not degenerated.

The importance of this place, in a commercial point of view, is greater than that of any other on the coast of Peru, with the exception of Lima, and surpasses this, even, in the variety and value of native productions. The general average export of cocoa is eighty thousand cargas of eighty-one pounds each. Timber of the finest quality is abundant and cheap, and ship-building has long been pursued here on an extensive scale. Cotton, bark, tanned hides, thread, &c. are among its articles of export to Europe and to Lima. It abounds in every kind of fruit, which is peculiar to the tropics; but the pine apples, for size and exquisite flavor, surpass those of any other country. The plantains are very superior and abundant, and are used as a substitute for bread. The inhabitants of this province are, generally, advocates of independence.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrive at Callao. — Repair the Ship. — Sail for Rio Janeiro. — Retrospective Reflections. — Receive a Letter from the Owners. — Remarks thereon. — Reply. — Arrival at Rio Janeiro. — Customhouse Officer. — Sail from Rio Janeiro. — Happy Ship's Company. — Arrive at New York. — Letter to the President of the National Insurance Company. — Reception by that Officer. — Remark of a Merchant on the Voyage.

On our passage to Callao the ship proved to be so leaky, that if no other cause had made it necessary to touch there, this would have been sufficient. On examination it was found that the bends and upper works were very open, and required recaulking; for which purpose there would be a necessity of discharging that part of the cargo which was betwixt decks. Fortunately I was able to procure a vessel into which I could discharge this part of the cargo, and thus save the expense of transporting it to and from the shore. While as many caulkers were employed as could work to advantage on the ship, I was busily engaged in endeavouring to obtain from the house which had contracted to deliver me the two cargoes on board, free of all expense, at a stipulated price, the addition which I had been compelled to pay to the Governor. They acknowledged the justness of my claim, but declined reimbursing me until they had first recovered it from the government. A memorial for that purpose having been presented to the Viceroy, was, by him, submitted to the Junta de Arbitrios, who probably had not come to a decision when the subversion of the government, by the invading army of Chili, put an end to their functions.

At the expiration of ten days after my arrival, the requisite repairs were completed, the cargo re-shipped, the water-casks filled, and every thing made ready for our departure. Still the house, with whom I had contracted for the cargo, refused to conform to the conditions of the contract by restoring the amount, which had been arbitrarily exacted from me by the Governor of Guayaquil, and which should have been on their account. If it was ever recovered from the government, those to whom of right it belonged never have received it. This, however, was not an object of sufficient importance to detain the ship, even if the prospect of success had been greater than appeared, especially as the momentary expectation of the Chilian fleet and renewal of the blockade might cause us a long detention. On this account, I considered it to be so important not to lose an hour, after all things were ready, that, a balance due on my private account to the amount of between five and six hundred dollars, not being forthcoming at nine o'clock, as promised, I preferred the chance of losing my money rather than detaining the ship a moment; and therefore as two bells were sounded, on the evening of the 11th of June, we weighed anchor and sailed for Rio Janeiro.

Thus, after an absence from my country of three years, I was once more bending my course homeward, and with a degree of impatience and anxiety augmented by the circumstance of having had no tidings of my family since leaving them. This occurred from not having fallen in with the frigate Macedonian, on board of which ship was a packet of letters for me, but the chaplain, into whose charge they were given, died; they were not left at any port where I might receive them, and were handed me in the United States many months after my arrival there. The events of these three years may be thus briefly stated. I embarked at New York with the most flattering prospects; those prospects were blasted and succeeded by inevitable ruin at the first port of entry. Being unable to reconcile myself to the tedious process of litigation, in a Spanish tribunal, for the recovery of the property, I had determined on attempting it by violence, and, at the moment, when every thing was ready for the execution of the design the wind failed us. In a few hours after being thus compelled to suspend the attack, I was suddenly seized with fever of such violence as to render me delirious, and for nearly a week I was unconscious of passing events. A long period of debility succeeded my convalescence; during which, I suffered from the combined causes of not being able to obtain the requisite nourishing food, and the vexations incident to being subjected to the *surveillance* of a military guard. In this trying state of suspense, anxiety, and incessant aggravation, I remained seven months, and then, by virtue of an order from the Viceroy of Peru, I went to Lima, where a ray of hope began to dawn. At length my ship was restored to me, together with a remnant of the cargo. At the expiration of twelve months from regaining possession of the ship, I had employed her so advantageously as to have paid all the expenses incident to repairing, re-victualling, and remanning her, which amounted to more than the product of the remnant of the cargo returned to me. I had shipped on board the Beaver, for New York, a cargo of cocoa in bulk, which, it was presumable, would nearly replace the original capital; besides specie more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of the ship, up to her arrival in the United States; and, in addition, a clear and legitimate claim on the Spanish government for the original amount of cargo and damages. This entirely for account of the owners of the Beaver.

For myself, having laid a foundation before the restoration of the ship, by a speculation to Valparaiso, I had succeeded in acquiring a property, such as the most successful accomplishment of my views, at the outset, would not have produced. Thus, again, as in repeated instances of my eventful life, have the circumstances, which I deplored as being fraught with overwhelming calamity, proved to be productive, in the end, of the greatest good fortune. And thus is manifested an instance, which teaches in the most emphatic manner, that, in the most distressing circumstances, we should never yield to despair, remembering always, that

> "We, ignorant of ourselves,
> Beg often our own harms, which the wise powers
> Deny us for our good; so find we profit
> By losing of our prayers."

When on the point of leaving Lima, for the United States, I received a letter from the owners of the Beaver, acknowledging the receipt of mine up to the 23d of August, and conveying a peremptory *order*, that I should lose no time "in bringing so long pending a concern to a close, by a speedy return home," &c. The impatience manifested in this letter, to have returned to them an old and worn-out ship, that probably would not sell at New York for more than it would cost to deliver her there, would have excited surprise, had they supposed she was engaged only in a moderately advantageous business; but to give such an order, when informed by my letter above mentioned, that their ship was earning the enormous sum of ten thousand dollars per month, was perfectly incomprehensible, and seemed to indicate such suspicion that my intentions were not honest, as was very mortifying. A peremptory order, also, was unnecessary, misplaced, and offensive. The voyage being one of my own suggesting and planning, it would have been as preposterous for the owner to give orders, as it would for me to receive them; and though, for form's sake only, I received instruction, yet it was well understood, that the entire and unshackled control of the voyage was vested in me; nor would I have undertaken the management of the enterprise on any other condition.

Our passage to Rio Janeiro, where we arrived on the 14th of August, was remarkable neither for celerity nor tardiness; for very good nor very bad weather. No sickness on board to distress, and no disorderly behaviour to mar the general harmony and quiet on board. As soon as we had anchored, the usual number of custom-house guards and soldiers were put on board. The former, from the facilities they are expected to render to those who make short entries, are treated with great familiarity and attention by the masters of merchant ships, at whose table they always occupy seats, and sometimes invite their comrades. As I had no favor to ask of them, other than such as common civility requires, which I was ready to reciprocate, I saw no reason for submitting to the inconvenience of having them at my table, and therefore desired the steward to give them their meals in the lower cabin. I could not imagine, that an objection could be made to such arrangement; but we had scarcely taken our seats at the supper table, when one of the officers came into the round-house, and began to remonstrate against the want of respect and the indignity offered him, in not complying with the invariable practice of admitting the officers of the customs to the Captain's table. As he was backward in leaving the room, which I desired him to do, but continued talking in a high and angry tone, I arose, and, taking him by the collar, led him to the door, and then gave him a shove which laid him sprawling on the deck. The soldiers, who were on the forecastle, immediately came aft to assist their comrade, who was already on his feet again, calling lustily to a boat, that was passing, to take him on board. This they complied with, and he left us, vowing vengeance.

The next morning, as soon as the rules of etiquette would admit, I made the customary and requisite visit to the Intendente. He was sitting at his desk writing when I entered, and rose to receive me. On being informed who I was, he immediately alluded to the complaint of ill treatment on board my ship, by one of the officers of the customs. I then told him my story, as already narrated. On hearing which, he admitted I had served the officer as he deserved; and another, of less pretensions, was sent on board in his stead. Taking leave of the Intendente, with apparently no unfavorable impressions on his part, from the circumstance of the officer's denunciation, I immediately set about the necessary measures for collecting the provisions and stores which were needed, and replenishing our stock of wood and water.

As the cargo I had on board was much better adapted to the market of Gibraltar, than to that of New York, I conceived it to be probable, that I should find letters at Rio Janeiro, directing me to proceed there, but was agreeably disappointed at receiving only a duplicate of the one already mentioned, *ordering* me to make the best of my way home, with the least possible delay.

Having passed a week, very agreeably, at Rio Janeiro, and obtained the supplies required, we sailed for home on the 21st of August, 1820.

Our passage to New York was uncommonly pleasant, both from its celerity and the enjoyment of an uninterrupted course of fine weather, but entirely destitute of any exciting occurrence to vary or interrupt the usual routine of a sea passage. When we had arrived within sight of the Highlands of Neversink, and myself and officers were exchanging mutual congratulations at the prospect of so soon experiencing a cessation of our labors, I was astonished to perceive an opposite feeling to be prevalent with the crew. Instead of the animation and hilarity, always observable with seamen when on the point of arriving, ours were interchanging expressions of regret, that the voyage was about being brought to a close. This may, in part, be accounted for by their being foreigners, who, on arrival, could anticipate no kind greetings of relatives or friends. But it was an anomaly ; and inasmuch as it was an evidence of their happiness, and of a just appreciation of their usage on board, it was a circumstance no less gratifying to me than remarkable in itself.

The tenor of the letter I had received from the underwriters, was a theme on which my mind had been much occupied during the passage. As it was not supposable I could feel any of that complacency toward them, which was constant and undeviating toward Messrs. Astor and Whitten, as a consequence of the confidence reposed in me, I determined to address to them a letter, expressive of my sentiments and feelings, which should be presented before my interview with them. Accordingly, I prepared such a letter; and, sending it by the pilot, it reached them several hours before I presented myself. I therein reminded them of their acknowledging the receipt of my letter from Lima, by which they were informed that their ship was earning the enormous freight of ten thousand dollars per month, and of the inference, very naturally suggested to my mind by the peremptory order for her immediate return, after being possessed of such information, namely, that there was an unjustifiable want of confidence, and an implied apprehension affecting my honor. In the disasters attending the early part of the voyage, perhaps there might be some apology for the first; but I did not admit any whatever for the last; which, I assured them, was the only instance of the kind during my life, and had been productive of pain and mortification to me, in proportion to its novelty, and the respectability of the source from which it originated. Such being the case, however, I remarked on the regret I experienced at the time the order was received, that it had not been conveyed to me by a person authorized to relieve me from the charge of the ship, as I could have improved the time much more advantageously to myself had I been free from this incumbrance.

Conceiving, however, that they could not be aware of the efforts and means I had used for the recovery of the ship, and her employment afterwards, it appeared to me to be no more than justice to myself, that I should state to them a few particulars, as follows:

First. Amid a hostile people, and in the endurance of great privations, I remained by the property at Talcahuana, after every other individual, belonging to the ship, had left her, and when its situation was so desperate, that I should have been justified, in the opinion of the world, in abandoning it.

Second. For the recovery of the ship, without expense to the owners, they were indebted to exertions and enterprise, on my part, in performing a service for the Viceroy at the risk of my life, and which, by superseding the necessity of employing counsel, was a saving to the concern of probably ten thousand dollars.

Third. While making these exertions it was obvious to me, that their success would be prejudicial to my own interest, because, had I been freed from the incumbrance of the ship, my time could have been employed more advantageously for my private interest.

Fourth. I took upon myself the responsibility of disregarding the proclamation of blockade of the Chilian Vice-Admiral; and, being the only neutral who dared to do it, I had the almost exclusive business of the Peruvian coast, and hence accumulated a property for the owners in one year, by freighting, for which, I believe, the annals of commerce can furnish no parallel.

Fifth. While lying in the roads of Pisco, I suppressed a mutiny in the ship's company, composed of a lawless set of foreigners, where no other seamen were procurable; and where, had my attempt failed, the property would most probably have been lost.

Finally, I acknowledged that I had received information as early as June, 1819, that the property had been abandoned to the underwriters, and was conscious of being engaged in laboring for men who knew me only by name; and to whom my happiness or misery, my living or dying, was of no other interest, than as it was connected with the safety of their property.

Having also informed them, that from my year's exertion in their behalf, I had laden for their account on board the Beaver eight hundred and forty thousand four hundred and fifty-six pounds of cocoa; and had besides a balance in specie of between five and six thousand dollars, I expressed to them my extreme regret, that this had not been done before their patience was exhausted, but hoped forgiveness on the principle, that "to err is human, — to forgive, divine."

This letter, as before observed, was forwarded by the pilot, and not knowing the persons to whom it was addressed, it was difficult to conjecture how it would be received. I was uncertain whether the President was not a choleric and arrogant young man, whose angry feelings would be roused by what he might imagine to be a want of due respect, and who would be prepared to resent it, or whether he was one who had reached the period of life, when the passions become subdued; and who, entering into my feelings, would have the candor to acknowledge them natural, and receive me with cordiality. I presented myself, therefore, at the office, prepared for peace or war.

The very agreeable surprise at the hearty and cordial reception I experienced from the venerable President, when introduced to him, quite overcame me. He rose to meet me, his frank and benign countenance beaming with expressions of goodness and amability; inspiring no other sentiments than those of respect, confidence, and veneration; and, taking both my hands, he said to me, "I have received your letter, Sir. I know your feelings. I thank you for what you have done for us; although I am not authorized to promise you pecuniary remuneration, you will, nevertheless, have it." Having expressed to him, how much more gratifying to my feelings was the expression of such approbation and kindness, than any pecuniary reward, I left the office with emotions very different from those with which I entered it.

My voyage, I perceived, had made a considerable sensation with the mercantile portion of the community; and I was complimented on its fortunate termination, by some whom I did, and others whom I did not know. Among the former, particularly, was an old and respectable merchant, who had retired from business with an ample fortune; one well versed in mercantile affairs, but of a generous disposition. After the interchange of the customary salutations, on meeting, he observed to me, "You have done well for the office; you have raised the value of its stock, ten per cent; they cannot give you less than ten thousand dollars." Several of the stockholders, also, expressed their obligation to me.

CHAPTER XX.

Visit my Family in Massachusetts. — Return to New York. — Owners Object to my Commission. — Left to Arbitrators. — Deduct therefrom Two and a Half per Cent. — Disappointed in promised Remuneration. — Letter to the President. — No Reply. — Comparison of this Company with Others. — Not attributable to the President. — Observations on Corporations. — Close of my Voyaging. — Remarkable Fact as respects Loss of Men and Sickness. — Loss of Property. — Don Pedro Abadia. — Don José Arismendi. — Proceed to Hamburgh. — Return. — Letter to Abadia. — Proceed to Bordeaux and Madrid. — Interview with Arismendi. — Viceroy. — Return via Paris and Havre. — Arismendi in Boston. — Imprisoned. — Escape by the Aid of a Merchant. — His Cunning. — Proceed to Havana. — Death of M[illegible]aler. — Effort to Obtain the Consulate. — Disappointed. — Return to Boston.

WITH the satisfaction naturally resulting from the abundant evidence I had received, that my services were duly appreciated, and during the time the ship was unlading, I absented myself a week to visit my family in Massachusetts. On my return, I found that an objection was made to my charge of ten per cent on the net proceeds of freights. I was aware that such a charge might be without precedent; but I was equally aware that it was no more than a just proportion, with the extra services I had rendered; since, independently of obtaining a restoration of the ship, in the manner related, I procured all the freights without the intervention of a broker. And when, for collecting their amounts, I was sometimes compelled to employ an agent rather than detain the ship, the commission paid for such service was not charged to account of the owners. Besides, had the graduation of my emoluments been made with any reference to what they would have been, but for the seizure, they would have much exceeded the ten per cent charged.

These circumstances were urged to the gentlemen interested, but were of no avail. Mr. Astor being unfortunately in Europe at this time, his agent, had he been disposed to act liberally, would have feared to evince a less exacting disposition, than the underwriters were doing; hence recourse was had to the ordinary mode of settlement, in like cases, that of arbitration; the result of which was a deduction of two and a half per cent on my charge.

It is not unusual for those to be dissatisfied, who are adjudged by arbitrators to be in error; and it appeared to me, that I had abundant cause; but I refrained from manifesting it to my opponents at the time, because I trusted to the repeated (though unofficial) assurances of the President of the National Insurance Company, of pecuniary remuneration; and presuming that this would, at least, be equal to the sum deducted from my commission, the cause of dissatisfaction, on my part, would be obviated.

With such impressions, and having, as in duty bound, submitted to the award of the arbitrators, I left the city for my home, without notifying the underwriters of my intention; as I wished to avoid the appearance of hurrying them on the question of the promised remuneration, but never doubting that it would come in due time. A month, however, passed, and I heard nothing from them, and so a second month, when I could no longer doubt that they had found it convenient to forget me.

The conviction, that the supposed honorable, liberal, high-minded men with whom I was thus brought in contact were capable of such conduct, was very painful to me. Indignant at such treatment, and mortified at being thus duped, I determined to give them a word at parting expressive of those feelings.

Accordingly, under date Lancaster 22d of December, 1820, I addressed a letter to the President of the National Insurance Company, in which I referred to mine dated the 5th of October, enumerating the unusual services I had rendered the Company, in the recovery and successful employment of the Beaver; and further remarked, that if I had condescended to make invidious comparisons, I could have proved that what they considered to be an extra commission, bore no proportion to the extra earnings of the Beaver, over those of every other vessel then on the Peruvian coast; and this, less from any concurrence of fortunate circumstances, than from a difference in favor of my management. I again reminded him of his promise of remuneration, and of its being repeated at a subsequent interview; and expressed my belief that these promises were made with the intention of throwing me off my guard, and of lulling me into security, the better to deceive me; and that the success attending it, had been, I doubted not, gratifying to all who shared in the two and a half per cent thus saved to the Company. This letter closed by the remark, "that, had I conducted your business with as little regard to the observance of the rule of 'doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us,' as has been observed, in this instance, towards me, the result of the Beaver's voyage would have been very different from what it is." To this letter I never received a reply.

It must occur to every one versed in maritime affairs, how different would have been the conduct of Lloyd's, in a similar case, and I doubt not, of most of our own Insurance Companies. Such an occurrence is the more remarkable from its being in the Commercial Emporium, where such a spirit of generosity is prevalent, that there is scarcely a captain of a packet-ship, who, for merely conveying his passengers in safety across the Atlantic, has not been complimented with a piece of plate.

But it would be doing injustice to the venerable and respectable President of the Company not to acknowledge, that, though of necessity he was the person to be officially addressed, I believe him to have been incapable of a mean or dishonorable act; and that, when he made the promise alluded to, he sincerely believed the directors would, as he knew they ought, confirm it. There were two of the directors who expressed to me their disapproval of the curtailment of my commission; and a third, who said to me, that he felt shame at being one of an association capable of such dishonorable conduct. But there was one individual among the directors, whose great wealth gave him a preponderating influence in the affairs of the office. The greater deference paid to his opinions, than to those of any of his associates, was very perceptible; and it is probable, that the President taking it for granted, that a handsome compensation could not honorably be withheld, had the temerity to assure me of it, before consulting him, and thus caused the defeat of his intention. However it may have been, it is a fact, that all I received was the unofficial thanks of the President, and that I suffered a deduction of two and a half per cent from my commission.

That corporations have no souls, and that men in a corporate capacity are often guilty of acts of injustice and oppression, such as, individually, they would be ashamed of, is an old observation, the truth of which, almost every day's experience confirms. But comments on so clear a case are superfluous; and I will only add the curious fact, that almost simultaneously with the discovery that ten per cent was too much for the laborious, hazardous, and eminently successful services I had rendered the Company, one of the directors of this very Company did not perceive, that ten per cent was too much for merely paying the disbursements on the building and equipment of the Greek frigates.*

More than twenty years have elapsed since the occurrence of the transactions above narrated, and those of the actors, who have not passed off the stage, may be surprised at a recurrence to affairs which probably have long since been forgotten by them. This, they may be assured, has not arisen from any hostile or unkind feeling toward them, but from the circumstance alone of perceiving that my narrative would be incomplete if they were omitted.

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* A letter which I received at this time, from the house of Tooke Robinson & Co. of London, places in strong relief their conduct when compared with those with whom I had recently been brought in contact. Its object was to inform me of their holding a hundred and twenty pounds at my disposal, being principal and interest on a sum arising from a mistake accidentally discovered, in accounts relative to transactions in wheat eight or ten years previous; and which, they remark, I must consider somewhat in the light of a prize in the lottery. This was paid to my draft at sight.

The voyage, just narrated in the Beaver, was the close of a series of voyages to most parts of the habitable globe, comprising a period of twenty-four years, in various kinds of craft, from the boat of twenty-five tons, to an Indiaman of one thousand tons; and on the most laborious and hazardous enterprises, as will have been seen. But a remarkable fact, which is worthy of note, may have escaped the observation of the reader, that during that long period, some portion of which was passed in the most sickly climates of the globe, I never lost but three men, — two by fever, and the third by a fall from the mast-head. Although I have repeatedly been five months on a single passage, I have never been under the necessity of putting my men on allowance of provisions or water; and to this circumstance, combined with guarding them against unnecessary fatigue and exposure, I was probably indebted not only for the happiness of escaping that scourge to seamen on long voyages, the scurvy, but almost all other kinds of sickness.

Although the private affairs of an individual may generally be considered to possess little attraction for the public, yet, to those who have followed me thus far, I have supposed that some details of my subsequent course might not be destitute of interest.

Acting in opposition to the maxim, that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," I was destined again to see swept off, in less than a year after my return, the greater part of my hard earnings. A most unfortunate enterprise to Gibraltar; incompetent, selfish and careless agents; and, more than either, a most shameful abuse of the confidence I had placed in the commercial house at Lima, with which I had been so long doing business, (Abadia [illegible] Arismendi,) were the causes of these misfortunes. Soon after these reverses were known to my acquaintances in Boston, I met my highly esteemed friend George Cabot, Esq., who, in his happy manner, remarked to me, "that I had cut a great deal of hay, but had got it in very badly." Alas! I felt most sensibly, that it was too true. The information of the revolution in Peru, of the consequent confusion in the commerce of Lima, of the breaking up of the house of Abadia & Arismendi, and of the escape of the latter, with a large amount in silver, in an American brig for Manilla, was received here not many months after my arrival.

During the Vice-Regal government, no stranger of respectability ever visited Lima, without enjoying the hospitality of Don Pedro Abadia. He was eminently hospitable, urbane, and friendly; but although of superior education, and extensive intercourse with mankind, he was bigoted and priest-ridden. His talents and education, and the extraneous circumstances of his being agent at Lima of the Philippine Company, and of his brother's being about that time one of the cabinet of King Ferdinand; all combined to give him an influence [illegible] the Viceroy and the Cabildo, unsurpassed by any other individual in the kingdom. This influence was often exerted for my advantage, or rather for that of the owners of the Beaver; advantages, however, which were reciprocal; as it enabled me to throw into their hands many valuable consignments. It was Abadia who gave [illegible] the house the character of respectability which it possessed, and which was such as to inspire a degree of confidence, which secured to it, almost exclusively, the foreign business of the place.

Don José de Arismendi was the active, business man of the house; a man who possessed the capacity of accomplishing much and varied business, with a degree of despatch and adroitness, very rarely seen among his countrymen. While present with him, he would conduct the business with which he was charged, on fair, honorable, and liberal principles. By this semblance of honesty and fair dealing, I was deceived, and was induced to confide in the house, to an extent which I discovered, when too late, was entirely unmerited, and which has been attended with ruinous consequences to me. It was late in my transactions with the house, before I discovered the peculiarity of the connexion. Abadia's relation to the Philippine Company did not admit of his engaging in a private mercantile house; hence, while a sharer in the advantages, he was exempt from its responsibilities; and hence, all the accounts and business documents were signed exclusively by Arismendi. Had this circumstance been known, as it ought to have been, it would have tended greatly to diminish the general confidence in the house.

Late in the summer of the year 1823, mention was made in one of the Boston newspapers, of the arrival of Señor Arismendi at Hamburgh, in the Roscoe of Salem, freighted with a rich cargo for his account from Manilla. As I had no doubt of this being my quondam friend, I flattered myself, that, starting immediately, and circumstances favoring, I might reach there before he should have left. Accordingly, in forty-eight hours after receiving the information, I was on my way to New York; and in thirty days more, I arrived at Hamburgh, via Liverpool, London, Harwich, and Cuxhaven. But I had the mortification to find that my labor was in vain. Arismendi had been landed at Teneriffe; and the cargo of the Roscoe, yet unsold, was so well covered, in the name of a Señor Zavaleta, a former clerk of Arismendi, who swore the property belonged exclusively to himself, that it could not be touched. After passing four days at Hamburgh, and with the aid of one of the most intelligent merchants of that city, being unable to effect any thing, I set out on my return, by the same route I had come. Fortunately I arrived at Liverpool just as the packet I came in was hauling out of dock on her return, and, embarking on board, I arrived at New York on the seventy-third day after leaving it.

Towards the autumn of the following year, 1824, I received information of the arrival of Señor Abadia at St. Thomas, and immediately wrote him on the subject of my demand. A copy of my letter to him, will best explain my views, as follows.

"*Lancaster*, 21*st Sept.* 1824.

"DON PEDRO ABADIA,

"Dear Sir,—By a letter from our mutual friend, Mr. C., I learn that after many perils, and some pecuniary embarrassment, you have arrived safely at St. Thomas. On this event permit me to offer you my most hearty congratulations. It was reported, last year, that you had arrived at Porto Rico; and knowing that you possessed a coffee plantation there, I thought this very probable, and directed several letters to you there, some one of which you may have received. These letters were written with the hope of inducing you to use some effort, or point out some means, by which the confidence I placed in the honor and integrity of your house should not be productive of my ruin. Among various other items you must be aware, that a sum of fifteen thousand dollars, charged me in account, as shipped for me, on board the Macedonian, and for which I hold duplicate acknowledgments of Arismendi, was never shipped. I will not attempt to describe to you my astonishment, when, after a great lapse of time, I received letters from Captain Smith informing me that I had been deceived, and that no property had been shipped with him, either for my account, or for that of your house. Independent of other sums, this amount, with five years' interest, will make an aggregate of upwards of $20,000, as one item now due me, from your house.

"Consider, my dear Sir, that this is the fruit of very hard labor, in the most toilsome profession; and that on the possession or loss of it, is dependent, a life of ease and comfort with my family, or protracted absence, care, and toil, for the rest of my life.

"You inform Mr. C. that Arismendi saved about three hundred thousand dollars. I had heard of his arrival at Manilla, with a large property, two years since; that, last year, he had there chartered the brig Roscoe, and with this property had arrived at Hamburgh. In forty-eight hours after receiving this intelligence, I was on my way to Liverpool, where I arrived early in October, and proceeding immediately to London, caused inquiries to be made of the Spanish houses there if they knew any thing of Arismendi. They referred me to the London Times of the 7th of October, (only two days previous to my arrival,) in which appeared the advertisement which I send to Mr. C. to be forwarded by him to you. This advertisement was sufficient to account for Arismendi's not venturing up channel, to accompany his property to Hamburgh. I therefore proceeded to Hamburgh, where I found an amount of sixty to seventy thousand dollars of the cargo of the Roscoe, in possession of a Mr. Zavaleta, in whose name it had been shipped, at Manilla, who had accompanied it, and who solemnly swore, that the property belonged to him. Arismendi had been landed at Teneriffe. I had then, and have now, no doubt that this property belonged to Arismendi; but, unfortunately, I could produce no proof of it; and therefore my efforts were of no avail. I wrote to a house at Teneriffe on the subject, and received for answer, that Arismendi remained there only two or three days, and then embarked for the continent. This is the last I have heard of his movements. He told Zavaleta, he should assume some other name. In this case, I do not perceive how you can discover where he is, or how he can receive the information that you are at St. Thomas.

"I presume from the tenor of your letter to C. that you have no amount of property with you, and that, not less on your own account, than from a desire which I believe you to possess, of doing justice to your creditors, you will leave no efforts untried to discover the retreat of Arismendi, and to get that property from him, which, while withheld from the creditors of the house, will (however undeserved) be considered not less dishonorable to the name and character of Abadia, than to that of Arismendi. If there should be any such chance for the recovery of the property as would justify the expense of my meeting you at St. Thomas, and there taking your directions and power to settle with Arismendi in Europe, I would not hesitate to embark on such an expedition ; indeed, I would even proceed to Lima, if you had any property remaining there, which there was a fair chance of recovering. It will afford me much pleasure to hear from you," &c. &c.

Whether this letter was ever received by Abadia I have never been informed.

Scarcely two months had elapsed after writing the above letter, when I received such information as could be depended on, that Arismendi was at the paternal residence, at Zarauz in Guipuzcoa. I had no hesitation, therefore, in embarking at New York, in December, in a brig bound for Bordeaux. Arriving there some time in the month of January, 1825, I proceeded, via Bayonne, Passage, and Yrun, to San Sebastian. From hence a messenger was despatched to Zarauz, who soon returned with information, that Arismendi was at Madrid ; and with the name of the street where he resided. Taking the Diligence, therefore, to Madrid, I had the good fortune to arrive there without being robbed. The next day I succeeded, not without much difficulty, in finding the person of whom I had been so long in pursuit, and was actually once more in his presence. Had an apparition appeared to him he could not have exhibited greater evidence of astonishment and dismay ; nor was it until the expiration of some minutes, that he was able to converse rationally. Unfortunately it required but little conversation to ascertain that my efforts would prove to be unavailing, and that I should recover nothing.

Arismendi had succeeded in obtaining what is termed a Morotoria, which is a security against molestation of person or property, by creditors, for a certain period. His was for four years. He begged me not to press my demand ; declared he had the control of no property, and the wretchedly mean, dirty, and obscure lodgings he occupied, would confirm the truth of such assertion, if made by any other than a very cunning man. But I had no belief in it, and therefore did not desist from the pursuit until satisfied, by repeated conversations with him, and the best advice I could procure, during a residence of a fortnight at Madrid, that there existed not a ray of hope of obtaining any thing.

As some alleviation to my disappointment, so far as it tended, in a degree, to keep up hope, Arismendi gave me a power of attorney for the recovery of a large amount of property, alleged to be due him from sundry merchants in the United States. From a cursory examination of these claims I was induced to believe, that a considerable sum might be recovered, and I therefore flattered myself that there existed some chance of indemnification for my trouble and perseverance.

Soon becoming reconciled to my disappointment, and burying it in the oblivion which screened such a multitude of its predecessors, I passed the time very agreeably at Madrid, in visiting the numerous objects of interest with which that city abounds, the result of which was given to the public soon after my return, through the medium of the Literary Gazette of Boston, edited by J. G. Carter, Esquire.

The *ci-devant* Viceroy of Peru (Pezuela) hearing of my being in the city, sent a messenger to me with an invitation to his house. I went, therefore, in conformity, and was received by him with the cordiality of an old friend. He inquired how my various mercantile operations had resulted, and evinced an interest in my affairs which was as pleasing as it was unexpected. His inquiries for Captain Biddle, and his expressions of friendship for him were made with an earnestness of manner which left no doubt of the esteem and regard he cherished for that distinguished officer. To the hospitality of our worthy minister, Mr. Nelson, and to that of the family of Mr. Rich, I was indebted for the most agreeable social hours I passed at Madrid.

Taking leave of my kind friends at Madrid, I returned to Bordeaux by the same route I had passed over before, excepting not revisiting San Sebastian. On ascertaining at Bordeaux, that no opportunity would occur for the United States, for some weeks, I took the Diligence for Paris, where, after passing a week, I proceeded to Havre, and took passage in the Edward Quesnel for New York, and arrived there in the month of April, 1825.

The agency for the collection of another's debts is an unacceptable service, more especially when they are of a description susceptible of controversy; but in this instance there existed more than the usual inducement, for I hoped thus to cancel the debt due me. Upwards of one hundred thousand dollars were claimed of a Boston merchant, the justice of which he denied, and refused to pay any part of it. A demand on a merchant of Baltimore, for a much less amount, was equally unsuccessful. The only debt acknowledged by the signature of the debtor, was that of an old and intimate friend, who could ill spare the money, and from whom it was very painful to me to exact it; but forbearance would have been a dereliction of duty, and would have been no otherwise serviceable to my friend, than to defer the time of payment. Accordingly, I recovered from him an amount about equal to one fourth of that due me from Arismendi.

When I was convinced that nothing more was recoverable under the power of attorney, I wrote to Arismendi, under the assumed name of Don Fausto Corral, as agreed on, to this effect; assuring him of my conviction, that he would never obtain any thing through the intermediation of an agent, and that the only course which presented any prospect of success, was to come to this country and prosecute the business in person. This, however, I did not believe he would do, from the circumstance, that there were large demands against his house, in this country.

Nearly two years elapsed after writing this letter, and I heard nothing from him, when suddenly, and without any previous intimation to anybody, he made his appearance in Boston. He was accompanied by a nephew, who, like himself, spoke no other than the Spanish language. They were in very obscure and ordinary lodgings, kept by a foreigner, which circumstance, combined with their having brought no letters, was evidence of their desire of concealment.

After the usual salutations on so unexpected a meeting had passed, I rendered to him an account of my stewardship, of which he had previously been informed by my letter. I now felt a security, and consequent exultation, in the recovery of my property, which I had not experienced before; indeed I perceived no way in which it could be eluded; but the short-sightedness of man is proverbial, and scarce a day passes, that it is not self evident. As Arismendi was indebted ten thousand dollars for short freight on a ship, belonging equally to myself and to a merchant in Providence, I did not imagine any mischief could arise from informing him of it, though the result but too clearly proved, that this information had better been delayed. With ill-judged impetuosity he sent the papers, proving the debt, to a lawyer of this city, with directions to institute a suit, notifying me, at the same time, of his having done so. Perceiving at once the mischief that would result from precipitate action, I went to the lawyer and persuaded him to wait a week, with a view of giving Arismendi time to ascertain the prospect of recovering the property of which he was in pursuit. This engagement, owing to some mistake, was not adhered to, the writ was issued, and for want of bail he was imprisoned; thus taking from him the power of making those collections on which mainly depended the chance of obtaining our payment. It was literally destroying the bird that was destined to lay the golden egg.

This error being manifest, one of the partners of the Providence house came on, in the hope of retrieving it, and with this view we united in an act which rendered the matter worse, that of releasing him from prison, on his promise of making a settlement; for it soon became evident, that his object was only to be emancipated, and that he had no intention of fulfilling his engagement. On being satisfied of this, recourse was had to the instituting a new suit, but before the writ could be served on him, he absconded.

This act, no less disgraceful on the part of the assistant, than of the principal, was effected by the aid of a Boston merchant, who enabled him to elude the vigilance of the officer charged with the arrest, concealed him until a vessel for St. Thomas was ready to sail, and then conveyed, or caused him to be conveyed, on board, thus assisting a fraudulent debtor to flee from justice, and preventing honest creditors from recovering their just demands.

In judging of actions we often err, and are guilty of injustice towards the individual whose motives we undertake to scan; but in this instance there can be no mistake. As there existed no personal hostility or animosity to me, it was palpably no other than sordid interest. Arismendi crossed the Atlantic for the purpose, principally, of collecting a debt of upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, alleged to be due him from this Boston merchant.

On the presumption, that it was desirable to avoid payment or even to avert a troublesome course of litigation, nothing could possibly have happened more opportune, than the coincidence of circumstances, by which he became the confident, the adviser, and the liberator of Arismendi, ostensibly to screen him from the rigors of a prison, but really to get rid of the payment of the debt; for, once away, he knew there was a moral certainty he would not return to prosecute in person, and it was apparent it could not be done by an agent, without incurring the risk of the property's being trusteed. But every single act of a man's life, when seen from a right point of view, is found to be in harmony with his whole character.

It was very evident, that I must relinquish all hope of ever recovering this debt, or any part of it; a debt so considerable, that its loss was productive of serious inconvenience to me; a debt, for the recovery of which I had made two voyages to Europe; had induced the debtor to come to this country, and when in possession of the means of compelling payment, by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, already detailed, missed profiting by those means; thus truly verifying the adage of "many a slip between the cup and the lip."

An uninterrupted correspondence with my friend Shaler, during his long residence at Algiers, as Consul-General of the United States, kept alive that friendship whose origin was of so remote a date. After his return to the United States, being appointed to the Consulate of Havana, he invited me to accompany him, on terms of perfect equality in every thing essential. Taking charge of the Consulate in October, 1829, we remained there together until the melancholy occurrence of his death by cholera, in March, 1833, when it raged at Havana, with unparalleled fatality. In the death of Mr. Shaler the country lost a most excellent and patriotic citizen; the government, a devoted and highly talented officer; and myself, a long-tried and deeply lamented friend.

The evidence of estimation evinced by a long list of the most respectable among the merchants and others of Boston, Salem, Portland, and Havana, to procure my appointment to the vacant Consulate, although unsuccessful, was very flattering, and excited my most grateful acknowledgments.

CONCLUSION.

There is a propensity in men to inquire into the affairs of their neighbours, to discover the state of their fortune, to find out how much was made by one operation, and how much was lost by another. This propensity, which is generally stronger in small, than in large communities, is very often the offspring of impertinent curiosity; but it may also, in many persons, be the result of kind feelings and a sympathy in the good or bad fortune of the individual. On the presumption that some of this latter class, who may have perused my narrative, may be gratified with a summary of my gains and losses, and the final result of my labors, I am induced to close my book with such a sketch, aware of subjecting myself to animadversion; but too near the close of life to be affected by it.

It will have been seen, that the amount of my outfit from France was four thousand five hundred dollars, of which two thousand were mine and two thousand five hundred belonged to others, and were shipped on half profits. This produced at the Cape of Good Hope eleven thousand dollars, which were invested in an enterprise from China to the Northwest Coast of America, together with seven thousand dollars belonging to some friends, making the cost of the expedition to the

Northwest Coast, for vessel and cargo, eighteen thousand dollars. The furs procured there sold in China for sixty thousand dollars, about one third of which was shipped in teas to the United States, and the other two thirds taken to Calcutta, the Isle of France, and Denmark.

The profits on the cargo from the Isle of France to Denmark were great. In about two years from the time of sailing on my Northwest voyage, the eighteen thousand dollars cost yielded in Denmark and the United States upwards of one hundred thousand dollars; and the two thousand dollars, the amount of my property on leaving Europe, together with my commissions, wages, and half profits, amounted to about forty-five thousand dollars.

Such a brilliant result to my enterprise may be supposed to have been very gratifying to me, if on no other consideration than the acquisition of independence; but it was vastly more so, from the circumstance of its enabling me to make comfortable and happy the latter years of a father, who, with a young family, was feeling the pressure of poverty; of aged uncles and aunts, who had seen better days, and whose kindness to me required that I should leave nothing undone, which was in my power to do, to promote their happiness.

From my next enterprise in the Lelia Byrd, which was of three years' duration, I returned to Boston in the spring of the year 1804, in the ship Alert, having on board an invoice of silks of about fifty thousand dollars, belonging equally to my friend Shaler and myself. The result of this, with that of my former voyage, and my interest in the Lelia Byrd under the direction of Mr.

Shaler, would amount to about seventy thousand dollars, which I possessed in the year 1804, clear of debt.

I then embarked in commerce to the extent of my ability; was unfortunate, and by the time my friend Shaler returned to the United States in 1807, having made a disastrous voyage, this, with my own operations, had diminished our capital two thirds, leaving us only about twenty thousand dollars each, or forty thousand dollars; all of which was embarked in the Aspasia, under my command. The total loss of this property by the confiscation of the Télémaco at Tortola, and the disaster which occurred to the Aspasia is fully detailed. I was now ruined, with a family to support, and with no other way of doing it than by pursuing a profession, which had every day become more hazardous by the increasing depredations of the British cruisers.

Years rolled on, during which I was an exile from my family, toiling for their support, and for the acquisition of independence. My voyages to Africa, to England, and to Holland during the embargo, were successful. By my voyage to Naples, although vessel and cargo were seized and confiscated, I made sixteen thousand dollars. In the William, which was wrecked on Jutland, I made a profit of five thousand dollars. These sums were embarked in a voyage from Copenhagen to Riga and back, which was performed successfully. Afterwards I was interested in several cargoes of wheat from Holstein to England, which yielded a handsome profit; so that I had once more a capital of about thirty-five thousand dollars. This was embarked in an adventure from England destined for Hamburgh, and which, owing to the defeat of Napoleon in Russia, turned out nearly a total loss.

Returning home penniless, I had to begin the world again. The peace between the United States and England having been ratified soon after my return, and the then pacification of the world rendering commercial adventures little productive, I gained only five thousand dollars as master and supercargo of a ship to Batavia. By my next voyage in the Beaver, in the years 1817 to 1820, I made seventy-five thousand dollars; and after my return, in an adventure to Peru, in the ship Tea-Plant, with Messrs. LeRoy and Bayard, I made eight thousand dollars. The greater portion of the amount acquired in the Beaver was swept off as detailed, before it reached the United States, and most of the remainder in an unfortunate voyage to China. On my return from Havana in 1835, I had yet about sixteen thousand dollars. This was all swallowed up in an unsuccessful speculation in 1836, and I was thus a third time left destitute.

On making an estimate of my losses in the twenty years between 1805 and 1825, I find their aggregate amount to exceed two hundred thousand dollars, although I never possessed at any one time a sum exceeding eighty thousand dollars. Under such losses I have been supported by the consoling reflection, that they have been exclusively mine, and that it is not in the power of any individual to say with truth, that I have injured him to the amount of a dollar.

With a small annual sum from the Neapolitan indemnity I have been enabled to support myself, till this was on the point of ceasing by the cancelling of that debt; when I was so fortunate as to obtain an office in the custom-house, the duties of which I hope to perform faithfully, and in peace, during the few remaining years, or months, or days, which may be allotted me on earth.

THE END.